

السلامة



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Between Ourselves

THE COVER

The decorative design on the cover is the work of Mr. 'Abd al-Sattar, a young Egyptian of Pakistani extraction. The central theme is the famous Arabic sentence, *Allah jalla Jalalu-hu* (God, whose might be illustrious), which is written in the Kufic characters into the design.

THE CONTRIBUTORS

James A. Michener, an American writer of repute, is author of *The Bridges at Tako-ri*, *Tales of the South Pacific*, *Sayonara*, etc.

Mahmoud Fawzi Bishr, B.Sc. (London), is a young Egyptian Muslim scholar.

K. A. Fariq, an Indian Muslim, is lecturer in Arabic in the University of Delhi, India.

Dr. S. Vahiduddin, an Indian Muslim, is Professor of Philosophy in the 'Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan, India.

W. B. Bashyr-Pickard, B.A. (Cantab.), an English Muslim, is author of several books on Islam. He also writes fiction and poetry.

Sa'id Zulficar is an Egyptian Muslim scholar at Cambridge University, Cambridge, England.

G. Neville-Bagot, an Irishman, is a keen student of the politics of the Muslim world. He is specially interested in North African affairs.

The Islamic Review

JANUARY 1956

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

نَحْمَدُهُ وَنُصَلِّي عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ رَسُولِهِ الْكَرِيمِ خَاتَمِ النَّبِيِّينَ

"Muhammad is . . . the Messenger of God and the Last of the Prophets . . ." — THE HOLY QUR'AN 33 : 40
"There will be no Prophet after me" — THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD

VOL. XLV No. 1

January, 1956

Jumada 'l-ula-Jumada 'l-thaniya, 1375 A.H.

THE CAULDRON OF KASHMIR

The history of the seven-year-old Kashmir dispute is a history of the struggle for self-determination of a people, a struggle to decide their own future for themselves. The peoples of Kashmir — Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Buddhists — have a right to their aspirations to be the arbiters of their own destiny. Being a predominantly Muslim country, Kashmir naturally enough evokes sympathy all over the world of Islam.

Till before the visit of the Russian leaders to the unhappy land of Kashmir during December 1955 — we refer to the part of the State controlled by India — the situation was pretty serious. Now it has become explosive. One wonders if the world, especially the big Powers, understands it.

None can deny that the waywardness of the Radcliffe boundary line between India and Pakistan alone resulted in the impasse that India and Pakistan find themselves faced with today. There have been various attempts at a solution, both by United Nations mediators and by the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan. These attempts have failed, and at the bar of international opinion. We see many an accusing finger pointing towards India as the party which has not only put a spoke in the wheel of the proposed plebiscite, but also taken all possible steps to bend the peoples of Kashmir into submitting and saluting an authority which is not wholly acceptable to them. After all, if the Indian Government has to station one Indian soldier for every twelve male adults of the population, as the Prime Minister of Pakistan has pointed out (and there is no reason to disbelieve him), there must be something radically wrong in the State. If the Indian Government has to resort to mass arrests under the emergency laws and to bar international correspondents from entering the territory to form their own judgments, there must be something to hide and to be afraid of.

With the Russian visit to Kashmir, a situation has arisen in which the peoples of this God's beautiful "paradise on earth" can feel more frustration than ever before. Similarly, the peoples of Pakistan might interpret it as the final blow to the method of peaceful negotiation, which they agreed to follow since the cease-fire agreement of 1st January 1949. Russia, as a permanent member of the Security Council, has a powerful veto, and if the case of Kashmir does go back to the Security Council, this veto might be the end of this long drawn-out attempt at peaceful negotiations.

The recent All-Parties Political Conference on Kashmir held in Karachi under the Presidentship of the Pakistan Prime

Minister, Mr. Muhammad 'Ali, has brought out one point with more emphasis than ever before in the history of that country — all parties are united in their stand on Kashmir. Irrespective of caste or creed, all Pakistanis feel strongly about Kashmir. And here we must quote the Prime Minister of Pakistan, whom we know to be a man of honour, integrity and common sense, who is not prone to say things which he does not mean and who is known more for understatements than the contrary. Addressing the Conference, Mr. Muhammad 'Ali said:

"It is unfortunate that this dispute should have become a serious potential threat to world peace. We have shown the utmost patience. Every effort to break the deadlock by impartial mediators has been defeated by Indian intransigence. We are prepared to explore and exhaust all other possibilities of a peaceful settlement. I must warn that as time passes and this dispute remains unsolved, frustration and bitterness will grow among Kashmiris and Pakistanis. It is of the utmost importance that this dispute is resolved before this frustration and bitterness has so seized the minds of the people that they turn to desperate measures. It behoves India and Pakistan and all the countries interested in the promotion of peace and the welfare of this region to see that a just settlement of this dispute is reached without further delay."

That there is frustration already existing in Pakistan over the issue cannot be denied. The long wave of hunger strikes and protest demonstrations are unmistakable pointers towards that. Will this latest Russian pronouncement on Kashmir as being "a part of India" bring this frustration to the very limit? This is a question which must be examined from all angles. On the answer will depend a great deal. We must also state here categorically that we are not examining the issue from a religious angle. We are not taking into consideration the fact that a vast majority of the people of Kashmir and of Pakistan are Muslims. It has been our policy that the Muslims of India must acknowledge and must look to the Indian Government for all matters, political or economic.

We will also not go into all the arguments advanced by so many experts that from the defence or economic or cultural points of view Kashmir must be a part of Pakistan. We will limit ourselves to the situation as it stands and the repercussions there might be if there is no amicable honourable and just solution to the dispute.

First, the Russian entry on the scene must have brought a feeling to Pakistan that the Communist ring is closing around them. It is quite unfortunate that the Soviet leaders are befriending Pakistan's other neighbour, Afghanistan, too,

in a manner which savours of unfriendliness. The evident result would be that Pakistan would try to keep herself free from this ideological aggression. That may spark into skirmishes, and skirmishes alone lead to large-scale wars.

Secondly, the relations between India and Pakistan, which are none too happy at present, will become all the more strained. Already there are suspicions in Pakistani minds that the inflated propaganda movement for "Pakhtunistan" is partly, if not wholly, directed from the capital. With India comforted by so categorical a pronouncement about Kashmir from a permanent member of the Security Council, there is bound to be a heightening of tension springing from the belief that she is right in claiming Kashmir as part of her territories.

Thirdly, in Pakistan itself the people are bound to become more impatient. How the frontier tribesmen took the law into their own hands and marched into Kashmir after the Partition of India in 1947 should not be overlooked, because these inhabitants of the rugged hills have not changed their outlook on life. One mistaken step by any one person in authority anywhere either on the cease-fire line or on the Durrand line might lead to an unmanageable crisis.

Fourthly, if the Security Council and the United Nations are unable to enforce their own decisions, it will shake the confidence of the nations of the world in the utility of that organization. After all, it was the Security Council which resolved that the future of the people of Kashmir should be decided by a free, fair and impartial plebiscite. Or is it going to be another North Korea or North Viet-Nam or even East Germany?

Lastly, and none the less important, is the fact that Pakistan will be unable to make her contribution to important strategic arrangements like SEATO and METO. True, India and Russia oppose these pacts bitterly, but in the interests of world peace we deem it essential that the nations of the free world must group themselves together in the defence of

their regions. Here we must point out that the Prime Minister of Pakistan has said in no uncertain terms that his country has not provided any bases to any foreign power.

"These charges are wholly baseless. We have repeatedly made it clear that the Baghdad Pact is purely a defensive agreement. It is not directed against any country whatsoever. Nor has Pakistan any intention of allowing any country to establish any bases in the country or to use its territory for any aggressive purposes."

We feel that the answer to the question we posed above, in the light of what has been said in this analysis, is in the affirmative. If, therefore, the frustration reaches the very limit in Pakistan, it would be bad for Pakistan, bad for India and bad for the world. It is for the statesmen of the world, especially in Britain and the United States, to give this matter their very urgent thought and see that the will of the nations, as expressed in the Security Council Resolutions on the subject, is carried out. It is equally important for the leaders of Pakistan and India not to be carried away by sentiment and tackle patiently this inflammable situation and harmlessly discharge the dynamite that has been planted on the Indo-Pakistan borders and the cease-fire line.

To the Western Powers it must be clear by now that the Russian tour of India and Afghanistan and their utterances are only a part of their offensive in the Middle East. It is necessary, nay, it is imperative, that a settlement on the Middle East be reached quickly. And resolving the Indo-Pakistan differences on Kashmir is a major step towards that settlement.

We have one more suggestion to make. Let the Commonwealth Prime Ministers meet in an emergency session and discuss Kashmir. So far the question has not been discussed by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, except in side talks. Let this be the only question on the agenda of a specially convened session to reach a solution. That will be to the good, not only of the peoples of the Commonwealth, but also to the good of the world at large.

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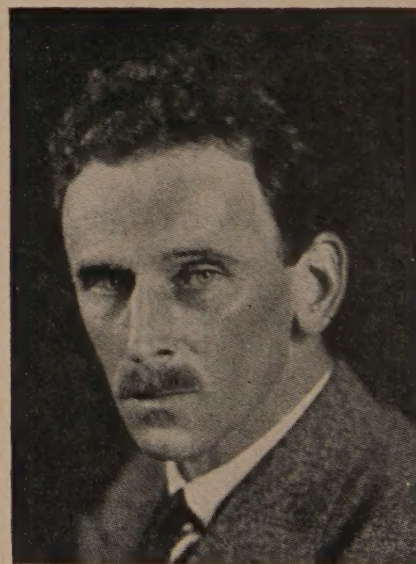
IX GENEROSITY

How blessed are the rich! for they
With lavish bounty may display
That shining virtue *Generosity*.

Yet not the rich alone, the men of moderate means
May clasp this grace with pure and generous hands.
What is the standard? What the guide for giving?
That all may know and practise righteous living.
Give with good heart from what you can afford.¹
Be not a niggard, piling clogging wealth;
Nor such a lavish giver that thou thyself must beg.
And yet . . . and yet . . .

This is not all.
Gifts that are given should be good.
Say not, "I will give this; it is no use to me."
"This best unto myself I'll keep."
But rather, "This I love, this will I give."²
Thou shalt be given of righteousness the crown.
Thy brother is thyself; give, then, thy brother good.

William Bashyr Pickard.



William Bashyr Pickard

¹ The Qur'án, 2 : 219.

² The Qur'án, 3 : 91, 2 : 267.

الله

نور السموات والأرض

(GOD is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth)

THE QUR'AN ON PRAYER

by Dr. S. Vahiduddin

"We are asked to seek God's help in patience and prayer, slowly and in humility, and we cannot ask better than to echo the prayer of Abraham, the Prophet: 'Lord! Vouchsafe me wisdom to join me with the righteous' "

The value of prayer as an inner experience cannot be called into question

Prayer refers to a peculiar relation as it obtains between God and man. As a value it shares its character with all other values. He who has been awakened to it can appreciate it and he who is blind to it cannot be made to see it by any process of rational elucidation. A. Carrel bewails the deterioration that has set in upon civilization by man's neglect of prayer. "It is a cry of distress, a demand for help, a hymn of love." Carrel is not the first to have noted the wonders that have been worked by prayer, the changes that have been effected even in the living tissues of the cells and the healings that have baffled the sceptic. It is also remarkable that the Qur'an also alludes to its own healthy and curative aspects. It is itself a book that heals. It makes whole body and soul. The prayers in the Qur'an are thus addressed to the purification and recovery of our whole personality; for the goods of the world here and of the world there and ultimately for companionship on high, for seeing the Absolute Beauty face to face, for the divine vision which is the end of all human life.

Whether prayer works in the world without or not, its value as an inner experience, its transformation of self cannot be called into question. What, then, is the phenomenology of prayer? It is addressed to God and may or may not be answered. It is man's response in the typical situation in which he finds himself. He is thrown on the earth and has to work against heavy odds. Some recent writers, notably A. Gehlen, have emphasized the helplessness of the human child and the risks to which it is exposed in the very beginning. The animal is born with ready-made patterns of instinctive mechanisms. But man finds himself at a disadvantage. When he grows old, he grows in knowledge, and with knowledge he begins to distinguish between good and evil. At every step of his life he encounters beings like himself, with wishes and desires that run counter to his, and he is overtaken by forces that he cannot predict. Conscious

of the helpless situation we are in, we feel that if God helps us not, lost indeed we shall be. What we call prayer is an address to the forces beyond our ken, to God as the ground of all that is visible and invisible. The belief in the value and efficacy of prayer is common to all great religions. Jesus Christ said, "Ask, and it shall be given you, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you." And the Qur'an says, "Call Me and I will answer you; remember Me and I will remember you" (40:60).

The Qur'an sees man "tested" and tried in two ways, by the goods that he is given for enjoyment and the evil that he meets in life, and in each situation he is apt to lose his way without divine grace. Hence it behoves him to ask God to lead him on the "straight way" and to save him from the devious ways which provoke His ire.

What is then the way of the chosen few who are singled out by God, the few who enjoy His intimacy, with whom He is pleased and who are pleased with Him? They abandon themselves unto Him, their will is not theirs, but His. They illustrate in their own way the words addressed to the Prophet. Say, "Lo! My worship and my sacrifice and my living and my dying are for the sake of God, the Sustainer."

The Qur'an offers to man guidance in the matter of prayer

As man himself does not know what to pray for and how to pray, he requires divine guidance on every step. On the very approach to the Qur'an man is given instruction in prayer; for, left to himself, man prays for his own undoing. He is carried away by whim and passion and he may perhaps not like a thing that brings good to him and may insist on something that might spell ruin for him. "We," says Shakespeare, "ignorant of ourselves, beg often our own harms." Hence it is enjoined to pray for growth in knowledge, for a light by which alone we can tread the path of existence safely and surely. But once man is well equipped with knowledge and follows the way of the chosen ones of God he may legitimately pray for human goods, for the

values of this life. The Qur'an does not consider the goods of this life simply as temptations but rather as the bounties of the Lord, the enjoyment of which is no bar to spiritual advancement.

Sin is a significant moment in the human situation and hence many of the prayers in the Qur'an are expressions of our repentance, of our sorrow for our misdeeds. Sin presupposes freedom and freedom involves responsibility. Prayer after sin is the acceptance of the fact that we have betrayed ourselves and we require the divine succour to purify us of our past and to sustain us in the future. The first sin is the expression of humanity, of human frailty. The first man and the first woman let themselves be duped by evil and commit a wrong. But soon they awaken to their folly. As a consequence they lose their pristine innocence, and, driven from Paradise, are forced to live on earth a life of toil and travail. Unlike the story of creation in the Old Testament, the Qur'an does not make a distinction between man and woman and treats them as one in their fall. They pray with one voice and God answers their prayer. How different is the representation of Satan! His attitude is inhuman. He is the denial of humility and an incarnation of pride and arrogance. Prayer is alien to him. Like a true dialectician he holds God responsible for his action and in wounded pride resorts to guile.

No wonder that mystics, especially Jalal al-Din Rumi, have seen in the difference in the respective attitudes of man and Satan the difference of love which abandons itself unconditionally and knows no "how" or "why" and reason which loses itself in the quagmire of endless disputations. Prayer is loving surrender, and true it is that he who loveth well prayeth well. The poet Schiller conceives of God in the pre-creative stage as "alone" and "friendless", who, weary of the monotony of life, creates the world for companionship. True it is to say that man finds himself, without God, lonely and forlorn, and in prayer he is forced to forge a bond of communion with the Beyond. Prayer as a communion with the Infinite is itself a good work. A tradition of the Prophet Muhammad quoted by the Shaikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani refers to the surprise which will be experienced by those whose prayers were not answered but which bore fruit none the less. The Qur'anic prayer emphasizes the moment of dependence in relation to God. Schleiermacher called religion itself a feeling of absolute dependence. This is partly true. Religion is really the consciousness of our absolute dependence on the Absolute. Hence man is called explicitly to pray slowly and meekly, to remember God incessantly, for to remember Him is to pray to Him. Our prayers never go on unanswered. It is another thing that we do not get what we want, but we get what He wants, and what He effects in response to our prayers accords more with us than that which fleeting desires, blind to our own interests, aim at.

The Qur'an on prayer for worldly goods

But worldly goods are given their due value. However little their substance may be and however insignificant they may appear in relation to what is to follow, they are vouchsafed to men for an appointed time. Some of the worldly goods speak for all that is human in man and are beautified in his sight by God. He might well pray for joys that come from woman, for sons who can continue his name and for forgiveness for the parents who gave him birth. "Lord, give us comfort, through our wives and children." The Qur'an does not say "Nay" to the joys of life. Of course, the denial of desires when they exceed bounds, the sacrifice of kith and kin in times of urgency, nay, the sacrifice of one's own life when higher issues are at stake, are clearly marked duties. But the humanity in man is never lost sight of. We are

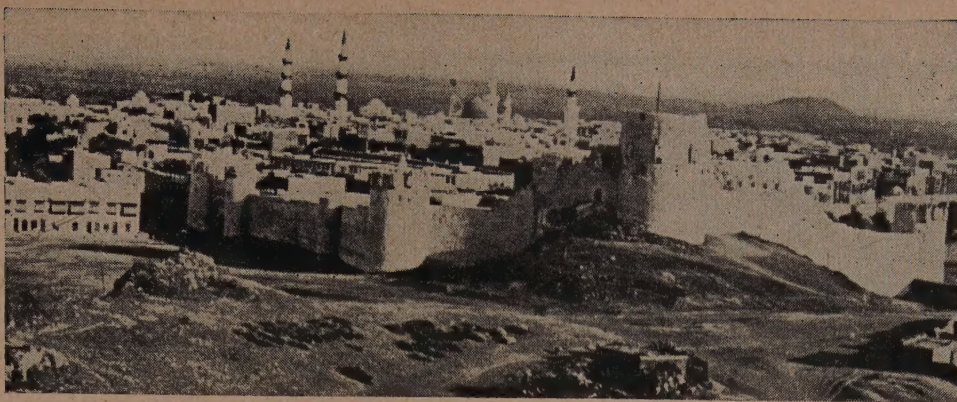
called to pray even for the little boons of life, for little pleasures and joys which embellish our existence.

The Qur'anic prayer takes into cognizance the shifting situations of human life. Man is seen in his nakedness and helplessness, in his state of a creature. A vicegerent of God on earth, he is prone to fall into a state which is lower than a brute's. But he can come to himself, realize the wrong that he has done, and God's grace tenderly cares for his good, his prayer an expression of repentance. The tears of remorse and the unconditional avowal of sin never fail to win back the lost paradise, the state in which the creature is reconciled with the Creator.

Prayer to God, according to the Qur'an, is an expression of our dependence on Him

But prayers are also called for when evil overpowers us for no fault of our own but perhaps to raise us in the spiritual ladder, or simply as the consequence of our finitude. In times of historical crises the individual is run over by the wheel of history, and the march of history, as Hegel has said, takes no account of the innocent flower. We are then called to pray, "Lord, I am overpowered, come to my rescue." How the individual is sometimes involved involuntarily in the breathtaking struggles of history is beautifully depicted in the great masterpiece of the Italian writer Manzoni, *I Promessi Sposi*. The hero of the novel concludes, after incessant struggle and toil, that sufferings may or may not come from any fault of ours. In any case, confidence in God softens their rigour and makes them of use towards a better life. Our prayer is just the spontaneous expression of our confidence in God, of our belief that He is always near, nearer, indeed, as the Qur'an says, than our jugular vein (50:16). When we lose heart we are cheered with the assurance that none save He can answer the cry of the soul in distress, and the soothing words, "I am nigh. I respond to the call of one who calls Me" (The Qur'an, 40:60), continue to ring in our ears. Whatever may be the magnitude of our sins, however dark may be the night, we can call on Him without being disappointed. Hence it is significant that the Qur'an emphasizes the mercy of God above all. It is because mercy never fails and even a merciful man may be relied upon more than anyone else. Whether our prayer is answered or not in appearance, it is answered in reality. It chastens our spirit and eases the tension of life. Thus in the dark and dismal moments of life the Qur'an comes to us as an evangel of hope, and we feel that, even when everything seems lost, all is not lost. The Qur'an is so mindful of man that it warns him of all that might befall him, of all that he might omit and all that he might commit. He might fall into error and recover himself and fall back again irrevocably. Hence he is asked to pray to God not to let him fall back after he has been led aright, to enable him to hold his own in the face of temptations and not to press him beyond his means. "Our Lord, take us not to task if we forget or err" (The Qur'an, 2:276).

The Qur'an constantly introduces us to the desperate situations in which God's chosen prophets found themselves. As men, they cried in anguish: "When will come the victory of God?" (The Qur'an, 2:214), and God's helping hand came late perhaps, but never too late. Hence when we pray in the Qur'anic words our prayers are certainly heard because the goodness of those who prayed in historical moments lends grace to our own and we feel our soul embellished, chastened and elevated in its association with them in prayer. We are asked to seek God's help in patience and prayer, slowly and in humility, and we cannot ask better than to echo the prayer of Abraham, the Prophet. "Lord! Vouchsafe me wisdom and join me with the righteous."



A view of the city of Medina with the Five Minarets of the Prophet's Mosque. In the background on the right-hand side can be seen the "Green Dome" of the Mausoleum of the Prophet Muhammad which also contains the grave of the Caliph 'Umar, whose remains were laid to rest by the side of the Prophet Muhammad.

THE STATE LETTERS OF CALIPH 'UMAR (634-644 C.E.)

By Dr. Khurshid Ahmad Fariq

Introductory remarks

There is no evidence in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadim (d. 385 A.H.—995 C.E.) of Caliph 'Umar's State letters having ever been collected. Much was written on one aspect or other of the lives of important political personalities of the first century A.H. (seventh century C.E.) by the historians of the first three centuries of Islam, and we have on record names of scores of monographs that the authors of those early days had written on the conquests, civil wars and political happenings. It seems really surprising that 'Umar, a most popular subject of study with the Muslims, both as an individual and as a Caliph, should never have prompted any writer to collect his official letters, the importance of which could hardly be exaggerated.

According to Ibn al-Nadim, to quote only one example of the accentuated interest of the early writers in the historical and sociological matters, the historian Mada'ini (d. 225 A.H.—839 C.E.) had written treatises not only on such important themes as the pacts of the Prophet, his letters to Arab and non-Arab princes, his treaties, his public speeches, the addresses and State letters of the fourth Caliph 'Ali (35-40 A.H.—655-660 C.E.), but also on such relatively unimportant matters as the signets of the Caliphs, fiefs granted by the Prophet and his humour. These treatises and others on a large variety of political, social, literary, scientific and legal themes were available in hundreds and thousands at the great Book House of Ibn al-Nadim at Baghdad in the fourth century A.H. (ninth century C.E.). It seems, therefore, very unlikely that Arabic authorship should never have been attracted to compile the official letters of the great hero of Islamic history that 'Umar was.

I have tried to fill this gap, and in doing so I have tapped the historical, literary and legal sources in Arabic that lay within my reach. Nevertheless, it cannot be claimed that all the State letters of 'Umar have been traced, though I am sure that the major and the most important portion of them has

been collected and arranged in chronological and historical context.

The letters have, for the most part, been taken from the earliest books, which, with the exception of the *Futuh al-Sham* of Waqidi, have been generally recognized as authentic. The sources of these books were the monographs and treatises which had been composed by the authors of the first and second centuries of Islam, and were, later, lost for one unfortunate reason or the other, as also many early authorities from whom seekers of knowledge in the first and second centuries had orally derived their funds of information.

The largest number of the letters relating to the conquest of Syria and Mesopotamia (Jazirah) come from the *Futuh al-Sham* of Abu Isma'il Azdi (third century A.H.—ninth century C.E.), the *History of the Conquests* by Ahmad Ibn A'tham Kufi (third century A.H.—ninth century C.E.), the *Futuh al-Sham and Misr*, ascribed to Waqidi (d. 207 A.H.—822 C.E.). The letters recorded in these books roughly correspond with one another in sense, though they differ, and sometimes materially, in text and size. Tabari is our main source for 'Umar's letters relating to the conquest of Iraq and parts of Persia. Of his five principal authorities about Iraq and Persia, namely Sha'bi (d. 103 A.H.—721 C.E.), Abu Ma'shar, Ibn Ishaq (d. 151 A.H.—768 C.E.), Sayf Ibn 'Umar (d. 180 A.H.—796 C.E.) and Waqidi (d. 207 A.H.—822 C.E.), we find the last three most consistently and generously quoted. But the transmissions of all the three differ, particularly those emanating from Sayf and Ibn Ishaq, both in detail and chronology. Sayf's transmissions occupy the largest space in Tabari, and we are mainly indebted to Sayf's accounts for 'Umar's letters relating to Iraq and parts of Persia. Tabari has given the full text of many letters of 'Umar, derived from Sayf, but at many places in his history we find only a *résumé* of the letters. I have left out such letters, as also others that consist of one or two sentences, being fragments from unrecorded letters of the Caliph.

Moreover, several letters have different texts in different books, and in some cases this difference is very marked. This seems to be due to a deliberate or unconscious interference by the transcribers with the text, as also to the lapses of memory of the transmitters and their interpolations, as we find in the domain of the Hadith. I have mentioned separately the text of such letters as differ materially in sense.

As regards the authenticity of the letters, it is very difficult to say anything with absolute certainty. The matter is so beset with difficulties, confusion and lack of adequate testimony that it is not possible to say categorically that this or that letter is fabricated. Yet there seems to me little doubt that in the process of transmission the letters have undergone alterations, corruptions and additions. Because of these difficulties, I have without reserve collected the letters from all sources available to me, including the *Futuh al-Sham* of Waqidi, and set them in the historical context wherever possible, leaving the intricate question of their *bona fides* to those who may have more decisive and ample evidence than is available to me.

1. The Syrian Front

'Umar became Caliph in Jumada II 13 A.H. (634 C.E.). At that time the Muslims were engaged on two fronts, Iraq and Syria. In Iraq, Muthanna Ibn Harithah Shaybani was making deep raids in the Sawad (the cultivated land between and about the Euphrates and Tigris), a part of which had already been conquered by Khalid Ibn Walid in the reign of Abu Bakr. In Syria, two notable battles, namely Ajnadayn (28th Jumadi I 13 A.H.—634 C.E.) and Marj al-Suffar (17th or 18th Jumada II 13 A.H.—634 C.E. — cf. *Futuh al-Sham* of Azdi) had been won under the command of Khalid, who had been shifted from Iraq to the Syrian front by Caliph Abu Bakr in Rabi' I 13 A.H. (634 C.E.) to replace Abu 'Ubaydah Ibn Jarrah as Supreme Commander of the Syrian armies. On assuring the Caliphate, so goes the tradition, 'Umar relieved Khalid of the supreme command and gave it to Abu 'Ubaydah. Arab historians have advanced different reasons for this change. According to one school, Khalid had spoken ill of 'Umar when Abu Bakr was Caliph, and 'Umar bore him a grudge on that account. According to another school, Khalid had courted 'Umar's displeasure for his killing Malik Ibn Nuwayrah, whom he deemed an apostate (*murtadd*), whereas according to the information of 'Umar, Malik had re-embraced Islam and was killed as a Muslim. A third school maintains that Khalid was rash in war and generous to a fault in peace, and the Caliph disapproved of both qualities.

According to the prevalent view, the highlights of the first letter of 'Umar to the Syrian forces were: (1) news of Abu Bakr's death, (2) orders of Khalid's dismissal and appointment of Abu 'Ubaydah to the supreme command, and (3) reference to the siege of Damascus. But the letter cited by one authority, namely Abu Isma'il Azdi, in his *Futuh al-Sham*, has neither reference to the dismissal of Khalid nor the siege of Damascus; it merely records Abu Bakr's death. These letters (about three or four in number) vary both in contents and phraseology and have been given separately.

Abu 'Ubaydah Ibn Jarrah

Abu 'Ubaydah was one of the early Muslims. The Prophet held him in high esteem and for his remarkable moral earnestness and integrity called him *Amin al-Ummah*.

For some time he had acted as the tax collector of the Prophet at Najran, and was much impressed by the Christian monastic life there. He had also lived in Christian Abyssinia when the Muslims were being persecuted at Mecca by the Quraysh. 'Umar and Abu Bakr had great faith in his ability and honesty. 'Umar is said to have remarked at his deathbed that if Abu 'Ubaydah were alive, he would entrust the Caliphate to his charge.

His conduct in the Syrian wars shows that he was a man of remarkable character. He abhorred war and seized every opportunity of avoiding bloodshed. Never was an offer of surrender, peace or agreement rejected by him, and the agreements concluded by him with the Syrians or the Greeks were most faithfully observed. In 15 A.H. (636 C.E.), when he had to leave the great city of Hims (Emessa) in order to avoid the far superior forces of Heraclius advancing from Antakiyah (Antioch), he ordered his officers to return the Jizyah-money collected from the people of Hims as he was unable to give them the protection which he had guaranteed in lieu of the Jizyah. He was more liked and trusted by the Syrians than Khalid as he was more conciliatory than the latter. It has been recorded by more than one historian that the Syrians were more favourably inclined towards the Muslims than the Greeks.

He took the appointment of Khalid to the supreme command with good grace, and his own appointment to that office by 'Umar some months later in no way flattered him. There is no evidence to show that it had a depressing effect. Khalid respected him for his moral earnestness and mature advice and he keenly appreciated Khalid's military skill. He did not inform Khalid of the latter's dismissal until Khalid knew of it from other sources some days later. When Khalid asked him why he had not let him know of the Caliph's orders, he said, "I did not want to convey the news myself. I did not want to sadden you while the war was on. I might have informed you when it was over. Besides, I have no ambitions and seek no worldly gains. The world and all it stands for is destined to ruin. We Muslims are brothers and co-workers in a joint mission, and it can never be harmful to the interests of a man in this world, or the next one, if one of his brothers becomes his chief or ruler. Moreover, the ruler is exposed to the danger of trials and mistakes".

In all matters relating to the military strategy and army dispositions, Abu 'Ubaydah always honoured the advice of Khalid and never tried to assert his high position. But in other matters he would sometimes go against the wishes of Khalid without, however, displeasing him. He had the great virtue of being considerate to friend and foe alike. He had completely identified himself with the lot of other Muslims. When in the calamitous plague of 18 A.H. (639 C.E.) 'Umar called him to the capital, saying that he wanted to consult him on an urgent matter, Abu 'Ubaydah, reading the Caliph's mind, begged to be excused. "Being in the army of the Muslims," he wrote to 'Umar, "I cannot prefer my own safety to theirs. I know why the Commander of the Faithful has summoned me. You want to keep alive a person that is doomed to death. So, please, exempt me from the obligation of coming to you and allow me to stay on." His life was a model of austere simplicity. It is said that during one of his sojourns in Syria in 15 or 16 A.H. (636 or 637 C.E.) the Caliph paid a visit to his tent and was moved to tears to find that all it contained was a piece of saddle felt, a large dish, a water skin and a cooking pot with pieces of bread inside. (Information and quotations from *Futuh al-Sham* by Azdi, the *History of the Conquests* by A'tham,

Letters

1. To Abu 'Ubaydah Ibn Jarrah

Early Arab historians such as Ibn Ishaq, Abu Isma'il Azdi, A'tham and Waqidi are unanimous in saying that the battle of Yarmuk was fought in 15 A.H. (636 C.E.). There is, however, one exception, Sayf Ibn 'Umar, who holds that the battle was fought in the early Caliphate of 'Umar (probably in early Rajab 13 A.H. (634 C.E.)), and that the appointment of Abu 'Ubaydah took place when the Muslim armies were preparing for the great battle at Yarmuk. He further points out that 'Umar sent a letter to the Muslims, saying that he had appointed Abu 'Ubaydah as their chief, and another to Abu 'Ubaydah, the text of which was as follows:

"I have appointed you Supreme Commander. If by the Lord's grace, you are victorious in the impending war, then send back the armies of Iraq to Iraq (i.e., those that had come under Khalid) and also those Muslims who may desire to go back from amongst other reinforcements that may reach you" (Tabari, Cairo, 4/63).

2. To Abu 'Ubaydah Ibn Jarrah

(According to the transmitters of Tabari 4/54, Cairo, this was the first letter written by 'Umar on becoming Caliph.)

"I call on you to be in constant fear of God, the eternal being besides whom everything else is perishable, who has guided us to the right path and has taken us out of the darkness of paganism to the light of Islam."

"I have appointed you commander of the army of Khalid Ibn Walid. You must, now, take on your shoulders the duty of managing the affairs of the Muslims in the best possible way."

"Do not embark the Muslims on dangerous enterprises for the sake of booty."

"Before sending them to a new land or lodging them in a strange place, make sure of the local conditions and routes through your scouts."

"When you send out a company of troops, see to it that it is in sufficient strength."

"You should not do any act or pursue any policy likely to land the Muslims in disaster."

"God wants to test you by making you my subordinate as He wants to test me by making me your Chief. I feel it, therefore, my duty to ask you to shut your eyes to the pomp of this world and keep your hearts away from its temptations. Beware, lest the love of the world may bring disaster to you as it has done to the bygone peoples. You have seen their tragic end."

3. To Abu 'Ubaydah Ibn Jarrah

(Tarikh al-Kabir, by Ibn 'Asakir, Cairo, 1/151.)

"In the name of God, the Most Kind and Merciful. From the servant of God, 'Umar, Commander of the faithful, to Abu 'Ubaydah."

"Peace be on you!"

"I praise God, who alone is fit for worship. I have to tell you that Abu Bakr, the successor of the Messenger of God, has died. Inna li 'l-lahi wa Inna ilayhi raji'un. May the

mercy and blessings of the Lord be upon Abu Bakr, who was right in conduct, just in command, and fair in demand, was kind, chaste, conciliatory, easy of access and forbearing. I hope the Lord will recompense us in a fitting manner for the calamity that has smitten me in particular and the Muslims in general. It is my earnest wish to deserve the mercy of the Lord through taqwa (divine fear), to obey Him as long as He keeps me alive and get the reward of Paradise when He makes me die. He has, indeed, power to do everything He likes."

"I learn that you have laid siege to the city of Damascus."

"I have appointed you to the Supreme Command of the Muslims in Syria."

"Send forth detachments of your army to the countryside of Hims (Emessa), Damascus, and all other important towns of Syria. But before doing so, weigh this matter well and act according to the considered opinion of the Muslims and your own. Let not this suggestion of mine incline you to risk your army and court harm at the hands of the enemy."

"All Commanders of the army that you may spare and that are not needed for the siege should be sent to me. But keep back Khalid Ibn Walid, who is indispensable to you."

4. To the Muslims of Syria

(History of the Conquests, by A'tham Kufi, Bombay, pp. 25-26.)

"In the name of God, the Most Kind and Merciful. From 'Umar Ibn Khattab, the Commander of the faithful, to the Muslims of Syria."

"Peace be on you!"

"This is to inform you that a great calamity has befallen the Ummah (the nation) of the Messenger of God in the death of Abu Bakr, who was truthful, forbearing, meek, kind and pious, whose distinctive trait was amr bi 'l-Ma'ruf wa 'l-Nahy 'ani 'l-Munkar, who was unworldly and God-fearing. The Ummah of the Messenger of God have been deprived of such a leader, and a great gap has been created by his loss. But such was the will of the Lord. Everyone has to drink the cup of death and we can do no better than resign ourselves to our fate with patience and fortitude. Lahu 'l-Hukm wa Ilayhi turja'un (His is the dominion and to Him would you be returned)."

"Before the occurrence of this calamity, he nominated me as his successor in the presence of the leading Ansar and Muhajir Companions, placing the charge of this 'great trust' in my hands. I avoided this serious responsibility, but failed and had to give in. Now, it is necessary that I should try to the best of my ability to manage the affairs of the Muslims and plan and execute their campaigns."

"I think it expedient to relieve Khalid Ibn Walid of the Supreme Command of the Syrian forces and replace him by Abu 'Ubaydah Ibn Jarrah. He should be your Supreme Commander from the moment you are acquainted with this letter. You are to refer all your problems to him and act according to his advice in all military affairs."

4. To Abu 'Ubaydah Ibn Jarrah

(Accompanying the above letter was the following, addressed to Abu 'Ubaydah.)

"By the grace of the Lord you have enough troops to successfully continue the siege of Damascus. On getting this letter, gather the army leaders and read out to them the

accompanying letter so that they may become aware of your appointment and act according to your orders. Send to me all commanders that you may spare except Khalid Ibn Walid, who must be indispensable to you."

6. To Abu 'Ubaydah Ibn Jarrah

(Futuh al-Sham of Waqidi, Calcutta, 2/2.)

"I have appointed you Governor of Syria and Supreme Commander of the Muslim armies, and have relieved Khalid of his office of Commander-in-Chief."

6. To Abu 'Ubaydah Ibn Jarrah

(Futuh al-Sham, by Abu Isma'il Azdi, Calcutta, p. 86.)

"This is to inform you that Abu Bakr, the successor of the Messenger of God, has died. Inna Li 'Ilahi wa Inna ilayhi raji'un. May the peace of the Lord be upon Abu Bakr, who was truthful, just in command, fair in demand, pious, forbearing and meek. I pray to the Lord that by His graciousness He may keep us safe from sin and bestow on us the blessing of His approval. Indeed, He is capable of doing everything."

According to Futuh al-Sham of Azdi, p. 86, 'Umar sent the above letter with his client and confidant, Yarfa, to Syria, and through him Abu 'Ubaydah knew of 'Umar's succession. Yarfa told the Supreme Commander that he had instructions from the new Caliph to inquire about the conduct of the top commanders, namely, Khalid, Yazid Ibn Abu Sufyan, Shurahbil, Sa'id Ibn Zayd, Mu'adh Ibn Jabal and 'Amr Ibn 'As. Abu 'Ubaydah spoke in complimentary terms about every one of them individually and sent back Yarfa with the following letter, addressed to 'Umar, jointly by him and his intimate friend and adviser, Mu'adh Ibn Jabal:

"From Abu 'Ubaydah Ibn Jarrah and Mu'adh Ibn Jabal to 'Umar, Commander of the Faithful.

"Peace be on you!"

"In the name of God, the Most Kind and Merciful. We praise God besides Whom none else is fit for worship. We have noticed in the past that you had a serious concern for the uplift of your soul. Now, you have become the ruler of all grades of people among the followers of Muhammad and there sits before you friend and foe, the big and the small, the weak and the powerful, and every one has a claim on your justice. We warn you to be careful of your dealings with men and of the way you administer justice to them. We remind you of a day when all secrets would be laid bare, and the curtain would be lifted from all hidden misdeeds, when men would be standing in deep humility and with fear and hope before an All-Powerful King awaiting His judgment. We have heard that there would be amongst us men with friendly faces but hostile hearts. We invoke the protection of the Lord against being amongst them. Pray do not interpret this letter in a way other than what we have meant it to be. Nothing but goodwill and sincerity have inspired us to write this letter."

The following letter was sent by Umar in reply:

8. To Abu 'Ubaydah Ibn Jarrah and Mu'adh Ibn Jabal

"Peace be on you!"

"I praise God, besides whom none else is fit to worship. I impress on you the need of the fear of God, which is the only means of pleasing Him, is the key of good fortune and is regarded by men of wisdom as the best guarantee of a happy life in this world and the hereafter. You have written in your letter that my chief concern before becoming Caliph

was the purification of my soul. How did you know that? Your words smack of flattery. You have written that I have become the chief of the Arab nation and all categories of people — friend and foe, the weak and the powerful — sit before me and have claim on my justice. You have asked me to be careful of my dealings with them. (And 'Umar has no power to act in this matter in a worthy manner but with the assistance of the Lord.) You have also drawn my attention to a day that needs must come as a result of the alternation of the day and the night — an alternation that renders every new thing old, every distant thing near, and brings to pass all ordained phenomena. That is the Day of Judgment when all secrets would be disclosed and the curtain would be lifted from hidden misdeeds and men would be standing in deep humility and with fear and hope, before an All-Powerful King, awaiting His judgment. You have also written that we shall have amongst us men with outward friendliness but inward enmity. (I am sure you do not belong to them) and the time has not yet come for this sort of hypocrisy to flourish. It will appear near the Day of Judgment when men's actions would spring either from fear of the worldly harm or the desire of the worldly gain. . . . (You have invoked divine protection against my interpreting your letter in a way other than what you have intended and professed that you have written it in good faith and with sincerity. I honour your words and request you not to deprive me in future of your advice which is so indispensable to me)."

9. To Abu 'Ubaydah Ibn Jarrah

It is said in the Futuh al-Sham of Waqidi that Khalid did not know of his dismissal as Supreme Commander during the siege of Damascus (which is the position taken by Arab historians in general), and that in his letter of the tidings of the surrender of Damascus, he addressed Abu Bakr and not 'Umar. This puzzled the new Caliph a great deal. He learnt from the Syrian courier that neither Khalid nor other Muslims had any knowledge of Abu Bakr's death and of his own appointment. Abu 'Ubaydah had not disclosed the new Caliph's letter, announcing Abu Bakr's death and dismissal of Khalid. 'Umar wrote the following letter and sent a personal envoy with instructions to read it out before the Muslims. Parts of it correspond with the letters given by Tabari, Ibn 'Asakir and A'tham and cited above. The surrender of Damascus according to the most prevalent view, took place in Rajab 14 A.H. (635 C.E.), roughly thirteen months after 'Umar's accession, but according to Futuh al-Sham of Waqidi, it seems to have taken place in Rajab 13 A.H. (634 C.E.), that is, within three months of Abu Bakr's death.

"From the servant of God, 'Umar Ibn Khattab, Commander of the faithful, to Abu 'Ubaydah Ibn Jarrah.

"Peace be on you!"

"I praise God who alone is fit for worship and invoke His blessings upon Muhammad, I have appointed you director of the affairs of the Muslims. This appointment is proper and right and you should not feel shy of accepting it as God does not feel shy of doing things that are proper and right. I call upon you to be afraid of the Lord, the great

(Continued on page 17)

1 The bracketed extracts of the letter are wanting in the text given by Azdi in his Futuh al-Sham and have been taken from the text given by the Izalatu 'l-Khafa, Bareilly, India, 2/158, of Shah Waliullah, and Miftah al-Afkar, quoted by Rafiq Beg 'Azam in his Ashhar al-Mashahiri 'l-Islam, Cairo, Egypt, p. 460. The wording of all the three texts, however, differs at several places.

What they say about us . . .

ISLAM: THE MISUNDERSTOOD RELIGION¹

By James A. Michener

"More than most religions, Islam preaches the brotherhood of all races, colours and nations within its fold. Muhammad himself probably had the same skin colouring as Jesus — a very sun-tanned white — but today his followers embrace all colours: black men from Africa, yellow men from China, brown men from Malaya, white men from Turkey. . . . For long periods in history Muslim nations strayed far from the spirit of Muhammad. If one focuses only upon the worst Persian and Turkish caliphs, one can easily condemn Islam as a religion that failed. But one can find similar dark spots in the history of Christianity. If one looks at the enormous good that Islam has achieved, however, one sees the permanent greatness of this religion"



One of the strangest facts in today's world is that Islam, a religion which in many ways is almost identical with Christianity and Judaism, should be so poorly understood in Europe and America. Since there are 350 million Muslims in the world, and since they control many strategic areas of the earth, it is essential that we understand them better.

But look what happened recently to a distinguished Muslim who visited the United States. Count the insults that were unconsciously heaped upon him:

He was shown a mosaic in a New York church and told, "See! We appreciate your prophet, too." But, in the mosaic, Jesus, Moses and Buddha were shown seeking men's souls with reason and light. Muhammad was shown with a sword, offering conversion or death.

Later he saw a film in which brave and holy Crusaders were shown fighting craven Muslims for possession of the Christian city of Jerusalem. The Crusaders appeared as educated, sensitive men, the Muslims as illiterate brutes.

A newspaper carried an account of Muhammad's lead coffin, which, according to legend, hovers mysteriously somewhere between heaven and earth. The news story naturally cast ridicule on such a belief.

In several discussions the visitor heard his religion characterized as "sumptuous", "voluptuous," "sybaritic" and "pleasure-loving".

At a public meeting a speaker said as a joke, "Well, if the mountain will not come to Muhammad, Muhammad will have to go to the mountain. That happens to many would-be prophets." The audience chuckled.

Worst of all, wherever he went, this man was called a "Muhammedan", and his religion was referred to as "Mohammedanism". These are two of the most unfortunate words one can use to describe this powerful religion.

Let us see why these experiences would be so offensive to a believer in Islam.

The Founder

Muhammad, the inspired man who founded Islam, was

born about 570 C.E. at Mecca. Orphaned at birth, he was always particularly solicitous of the poor and the needy, the widow and the orphan, the slave and the downtrodden. At twenty he was already a successful business man, and soon become director of camel caravans for a wealthy widow. When he reached twenty-five his employer, recognizing his merit, proposed marriage. Even though she was fifteen years his senior, he married her, and as long as she lived he remained a devoted husband.

By forty this man of the desert had secured for himself a most satisfying life: a loving wife, fine children and wealth. Then, Muslims believe, in a series of dramatic and terrifying events, he began to receive through the Archangel Gabriel a revelation of God's word.

Like almost every major prophet before him, Muhammad fought shy of serving as the transmitter of God's word, sensing his own inadequacy. But the angel commanded, "Read". So far as we know, Muhammad was hardly able to read or write, but he began to dictate those inspired words which would soon revolutionize a large part of the earth: "There is but one God".

Muhammad's message infuriated those rich Arabs whose faith required many idols, and he and his few followers were driven from Mecca, his home. Forced now to fight in defence of the freedom of conscience which he preached, he became an accomplished military leader. Although he repeatedly went into battle outmanned and outspared as much as five to one, he won some spectacular victories.

Later he became head of the State, and the testimony even of his enemies is that he administered wisely. The wisdom he displayed in judging intricate cases became the basis for the religious law that governs Islam today. In his final years he was invited to become a dictator or a saint, but he rejected both temptations, insisting that he was an average man to whom God had sent another of His periodic messages to the world.

By the force of his extraordinary personality, Muhammad revolutionized life in Arabia and throughout the Middle East. He preached a religion dedicated to one God. He lifted

women from the bondage in which desert custom held them and preached general social justice.

Muslims think it particularly ironic when Muhammad is charged by Western writers with having established a voluptuous religion. Among drunkards he abolished alcohol, so that even today all good Muslims are teetotallers. Among the lazy he ordained individual ritual prayers five times each day. In a nation that revelled in feasting he instituted a most rigorous daytime fast lasting a full month each year.

Western critics have based their charges of voluptuousness mainly on the question of women. Before Muhammad, however, men were encouraged to take innumerable wives; he limited them to four only, and the Qur'an is explicit that husbands who are unable to maintain strict equality between two or more wives must confine themselves to one.

A widespread misunderstanding arises from the Prophet Muhammad's promise of paradise. In a land of blistering drought and sandstorms he predicted that evil men would suffer the tormenting fires of hell, whereas good men would be transported to a perpetual paradise of cool breezes, comforting streams and beautiful houris.

Western imaginations, unfamiliar with this last word, defined it by analogy with one of the ugliest words in English and jumped to the conclusion that Muhammad's paradise was to be a sexual debauch. They were wrong. A *houri* is a fair-skinned, black-eyed woman created from musk and spices, incredibly beautiful, and perpetually virgin.

Last summer I stood on the edge of an Asian desert with one of Islam's greatest philosophers, and he said, "Today much effort is being spent to prove that Muhammad's paradise was only symbolic. Wise men explain away everything. But let me tell you this. I have lived my whole life faithful to God in this baking desert. I've avoided one earthly temptation after another in an effort to gain paradise. If I get there and find no cool rivers, no date trees and no beautiful chaste girls made of musk and spice to keep me company, I shall feel badly defrauded."

In all things Muhammad was profoundly practical. When his beloved son Ibrahim died, an eclipse occurred, and rumours of God's personal condolence quickly arose. Whereupon Muhammad is said to have announced, "An eclipse is a phenomenon of nature. It is foolish to attribute such things to the birth or death of a human being".

At Muhammad's own death an attempt was made to deify him, but the man who was to become his administrative successor killed the hysteria with one of the noblest speeches in religious history: "If there are any among you who worshipped Muhammad, he is dead. But if it was God you worshipped, He lives for ever."

Muhammad, the man, was buried in an ordinary tomb whose location has always been known. The story of the floating coffin arose in Europe in later centuries.

These things explain why people who follow the religion of Muhammad do not like to be called "Mohammedans". Said the desert philosopher last summer, "A Christian is a man who believes that Christ was a part of God, and the central fact of his religion. A 'Mohammedan', by analogy, would have to be a man who believed that Muhammad was likewise a part of God, and the central fact of his religion. But Muhammad was a man. He married, had children, earned a living, died, and was buried in a grave like the rest of us. No learned man would worship Muhammad. It is God we worship. Therefore, call us Muslims — those who submit to the will of God."

The Book

The Qur'an is probably the most often read book in the world, surely the most often memorized, and possibly the most influential in the daily life of the people who believe in it. Not quite so long as the New Testament, written in an exalted style, it is neither poetry nor ordinary prose, yet it possesses the ability to arouse its hearers to ecstasies of faith. Its rhythms have been compared to the beat of drums, to the echoes of nature and to the chants which are common in all early societies.

It is written in Arabic, and devout Muslims have often insisted that it must not be translated into any other language. One might expect that such a wish would have limited the spread of Islam. On the contrary; all over the world men have laboured to learn Arabic, not an easy language, just to be able to read their holy book and pray in the original.

The Qur'an was revealed to Muhammad between the years 610 and 632 in the cities of Mecca and Medina. Devoted scribes wrote it down on "scraps of paper, bark and the white shoulder blades of animals". The early revelations were dazzling assurances that there was only one God, Merciful and Compassionate: "He is Allah, the Creator, the Maker, the Fashioner. Whatever is in the heavens and the earth declares His glory; and He is the Mighty, the Wise".

It was this message that inspired men to revolutionize their lives and their nations. In later years, when Islam began to penetrate large areas of Arabia and had acquired much power, the revelations dealt with the organization of society, its laws, procedures and problems.

The Christian or Jew who reads the Qur'an finds himself on familiar ground a good deal of the time. If the following random verses, chosen from hundreds like them, were suddenly read in a church or synagogue, the congregation might have trouble guessing where they came from.

"Cried one of the brothers, 'Slay not Joseph, but if ye must do something, throw him down to the bottom of the well; he will be picked up by a caravan of travellers'."

"So also was Jonah among those sent by Us. When he ran away to the ship fully laden, he agreed to cast lots and was condemned. Then the big Fish did swallow him."

"Mary asked: 'How shall I have a son, seeing that no man has touched me and I am not unchaste?' The angel replied: 'So it will be. Thy Lord saith This is easy for Me.' So she conceived him, and she retired with him to a remote place."

Many revered names from Christianity and Judaism appear in the Qur'an. For example, five of the important chapters are entitled Noah, Jonah, Joseph, Abraham and Mary. Lacking specific chapters of their own, but playing quite important roles, are Jesus, Adam, David, Goliath, Job, Moses, Lot and Solomon.

Islam is partly founded on the words of four prophets who lived before Muhammad: Jesus, Noah, Abraham and Moses. The Qur'an does not acknowledge that Jesus was the Son of God and that He suffered death upon the Cross; if Jesus were acknowledged the child of God, Muslims believe it would compromise God's oneness, the belief which is the cornerstone of Islam. It would, moreover, be difficult thereafter to contend that Muhammad was the bearer of the final perfect revelation, as Muslims do.

The Qur'an is remarkably down-to-earth in its discussion of the good life. In one memorable passage it directs: "When ye deal with each other in transactions involving

future obligations, reduce them to writing . . . and get two witnesses, so that if one of them errs the other can remind him. This is juster in the sight of God, more suitable as evidence, and more convenient to prevent doubts among yourselves".

It is this dedication to one God plus practical instruction that makes the Qur'an unique. Each Islamic nation claims many citizens who are convinced that their land will be governed well only if its laws conform to the Qur'an.

The Traditions

In addition to the Qur'an, Islam relies upon "traditions" — what Muhammad said and did. These are largely affectionate camp fire gossip, the odds and ends that would be remembered after a great man had died.

About 200 years after Muhammad's death more than 600,000 separate anecdotes about him were current, and several great scholars undertook the job of checking them for historical validity. More than 597,000 were rejected. The remainder, called the Hadith, are accepted by all good Muslims.

Much of Islam's common sense comes from them. For example: "One dark night Muhammad had to escort his wife home from the mosque. On the way he saw two men giggling in the shadows, so he called them to him, lifted his wife's veil and said, 'See, it is my wife with whom I walk'. When the strangers protested that they trusted him, he said, 'I was not worried about your trust of me. I did not want your faith to be affected by your suspicions.'"

Once a Jew came to the prophet and protested that Muhammad's chief assistant had outraged Jews by claiming that Muhammad was more exalted than Moses. The prophet said to his assistant, "You should not have said this. The feelings of other people must be respected."

Also, some of the profoundest elements of Muslim faith and culture derive from these traditions. Every Muslim, in beginning a meal or entering upon any other task, repeats "In the name of God, Most Beneficent, Most Merciful". This is the opening verse of the Qur'an. Muslims greet each other with the traditional salutation, "Peace be on you". The whole ritual of congregational prayer is taken from the traditions, including the well-known call to worship.

Some traditions influenced Western behaviour: "On one occasion Muhammad saw a donkey being branded on the face. When asked why this was being done, the herdsman said, 'The Romans taught us this to prevent theft.' Muhammad reflected a moment and said, 'An animal's face is the most sensitive part of its body. If you must brand, then do it on the flanks, where the flesh is thicker.' And the custom spread."

As a successful general, Muhammad left many traditions regarding decent conduct in war: "Faithfully carry out all covenants and agreements. Avoid treachery and do not disfigure the enemy dead. Do not slay children, women, old men or persons dedicated to the service of religion. Do not destroy sacred objects, orchards or crops."

Muhammad was sceptical about miracles, and rebuked those who sought them. Nevertheless several have been ascribed to him. The famous story of Muhammad and the mountain, however, relates to a clownish fakir of that name who lived in Turkey centuries after the prophet. In a bit of horseplay he announced that, on the morrow, he would make the nearby mountain come to him. When the mountain declined, he shrugged his shoulders and said, "Well, I'll go to the mountain."

Throughout the traditions Muhammad appears as a saintly man, one whom devout people of all religions would have recognized immediately as deeply concerned about the nature of God. He preached that slaves should be set free, that fathers should not kill unwanted baby girls, that those oppressed by society inherit the earth, that peace is better than war, that justice prevails. There is much proof that Muhammad hoped for the day when all who shared a common belief in God would exist together in peace. It is well documented that, on one occasion, when a deputation of Christians visited him, he said, when time for prayers arrived, "Conduct your service here in the mosque. It is a place consecrated to God".

The Religion

To be a Muslim, one must submit to five disciplines:

1. The Muslim must confess that "there is no god but God, and Muhammad is His prophet". This confession does not mean that Muhammad was God's only prophet. The Jewish prophets are included and the Christian prophet, Jesus, is given special reverence. What Muslims do contend is that Muhammad was "the seal of the prophet", who brought God's final message. His dispensation sums up and supersedes all others.

2. The Muslims must observe ritual prayers five times daily — at dawn, at noon, in the afternoon, after sunset and at night, preferably in congregation. All visitors to Islam testify that one of the most extraordinary sights in world religion occurs when, in a dimly lit mosque, hundreds of men stand shoulder to shoulder, then bow and prostrate themselves as they face Mecca. It is in such prayer that the brotherhood of Islam is born.

3. The Muslim must contribute two and a half per cent of his gross wealth (not income) to charity every year. Like the Christian tithe, this has become a matter of individual conscience. The principle, however, is of great importance to Muslim nations, for it justifies modern taxes for social welfare.

4. The Muslim must fast during daylight hours for one lunar month each year, and it is amazing how many devout people do so. Just before dawn a man takes his last food, drinks his last cup of water. Throughout that entire day, no matter how exhausting the heat, the true Muslim refuses food or water. Then, at dusk, he breaks fast.

5. The Muslim, if physically and financially able, should during his lifetime make at least one pilgrimage to Mecca, after which he is entitled to call himself *haajj*. This custom arose when most Muslims lived within a few miles of the holy city. It is preserved today when men must travel across continents.

No other religion in history spread so rapidly as Islam. By the time of Muhammad's death (632 C.E.) Islam controlled a great part of Arabia. Soon it triumphed in Syria, Persia, Egypt, the lower borders of present Russia and across North Africa to the gates of Spain. In the next century its progress was even more spectacular.

The West has widely believed that this surge of religion was made possible by the sword. But no modern scholar accepts that idea, and the Qur'an is explicit in support of freedom of conscience. The evidence is strong that Islam welcomed the peoples of many diverse religions, so long as they behaved themselves and paid additional taxes. Muhammad constantly taught that Muslims should co-operate with the "people of the Book" (Jews and Christians).

True, there were often wars between Muslims and either Christians or Jews (sometimes because the older religions insisted on battle), and the Qur'an contains passages of primitive violence relating to these wars. But testimony is overwhelming that "followers of the Book" were usually given decent treatment, sanctuary and freedom to worship as they wished.

Important Facts

Many Westerners, accustomed by their history books to believe that Muslims were barbarous infidels, find it difficult to comprehend how profoundly our intellectual life has been influenced by Muslim scholars in the fields of science, medicine, mathematics, geography and philosophy. Crusaders who invaded the Holy Land to fight Muslims returned to Europe with new ideas of love, poetry, chivalry, warfare and government. Our concept of what a university should be was deeply modified by Muslim scholars, who perfected the writing of history and who brought to Europe much Greek learning.

Although Islam originated in Arabia, today only a small percentage (7 per cent) of the world's Muslims are Arabians, and less than a quarter (20 per cent) speak Arabic as their native language.

More than most religions, Islam preaches the brotherhood of all races, colours and nations within its fold. Muhammad himself probably had the same skin colouring as Jesus — a very sun-tanned white — but today his followers embrace all colours: black men from Africa, yellow men from China, brown men from Malaya, white men from Turkey.

Islam permits no priesthood, and this religion, like Judaism, discourages portraiture. Mosques are decorated with geometrical patterns only. If this article were to be illustrated by a drawing intended to represent Muhammad, all copies of the magazine would be immediately confiscated in Muslim countries.

For long periods in history Muslim nations strayed far from the spirit of Muhammad. If one focuses only upon the worst Persian and Turkish caliphs, one can easily condemn Islam as a religion that failed. But one can find similar dark spots in the history of Christianity. If one looks at the enormous good that Islam has achieved, however, one sees the permanent greatness of this religion.

I have been studying Islam for many years, and I cannot see any valid reason why this religion and others cannot co-operate. I know that some fanatic men in Islam preach jihad (holy war) against unbelievers and that they try to assassinate their own leaders to foment such war. But no sensible Muslim listens to them. They are today's equivalent of the hot-headed Christian knights who, in the Middle Ages, vowed to exterminate all Muslims. Age cures such rashness.

Nor can I find any permanent reason why in the Middle East Arabs and Israelis should continue their temporary enmity. In the long sweep of history Muslims and Jews have co-operated in areas of mutual interest. True, there have been repeated troubles. But even under the worst caliphs, Jews held positions of influence and, in general, retained religious freedom within Muslim society. Today the State of Israel is an exasperation to Muslims, especially to Arabs, and a temptation to rash action; but once the immediate and pressing problems have been settled, Muslims and Jews should be expected again to live in harmony — as they did for more than 1,300 years.

Of great importance to the world is the fact that Islam, as a religion, is unalterably opposed to Communism. Sometimes when living among Muslims I feel that God is a much greater reality to them than He is to Christians. It is difficult to believe that Muslims would willingly surrender their faith for a Communism which denies His existence.

On the other hand, Islam as a society is in certain respects closer to communal life than it is to capitalism.

Thus, if nations of the West by unwise economic or political moves were to alienate the Muslim world or were to permit economic ruin there, I would expect much of Islam to embrace Communism while attempting secretly to hold on to God.

People of the West will meet numerous problems in the Muslim world. But many of them will be softened by a remark that Muhammad made to his followers: "You will find your most affectionate friends will be those who say, 'We are Christians'."

¹ Courtesy, *Reader's Digest*, London, for June 1955, and also the author. The spellings of "Moslem", "Koran" and "Mohammed" have been changed to conform to the style of *The Islamic Review*.—Ed., I.R.

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WHITHER EGYPT'S NEW ARMS DEAL?

The Main Purpose behind the Arms Agreement between Egypt and Czechoslovakia

By Sa'id Zulficar

Lt.-Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir

"But whereas the Arab States are contending for an equitable peace, Israel is not seeking a solution based on justice or on the recognition of human rights: she intends to impose a settlement, by military force, if necessary, from which the weak Arab States would derive no advantage and from which repatriation of refugees and rectification of frontiers would be ruled out. And this situation is just what the recent arms agreement is meant to avert. The policy of the Egyptian Government is to prevent at all cost the final decision of the Palestine problem by force of arms, and to strengthen the relative diplomatic position of the Arab States by reinforcing them physically as a prelude to peace negotiations on a basis of equality, if not of strength"

Egypt's action in strengthening its armed forces is not to unleash a war

The recent arms agreement between Egypt and Czechoslovakia is undoubtedly one of the most significant diplomatic feats ever accomplished by a Middle Eastern government; for it has exposed the advantageous position held by the Middle East *vis-à-vis* the two world *blocs* competing for its favour. The agreement has, moreover, radically altered the uneasy situation overnight and, by wrecking the dilatory plans of the Western Powers, has compelled them to adopt a more realistic attitude towards the Palestine problem. Egypt's *volte-face*, on the other hand, aroused an outcry of indignation and resentment in Western official circles and gave occasion for accusations of aggressive designs against Israel which endangered the peace and stability of the Middle East. It is somewhat ironical that the West, especially Britain and the United States, should feel resentful about the logical outcome of its inconsistent Middle Eastern policy, which seemed to be designed to alienate any amity that existed between Oriental and Occidental. Whether the introduction of Communist arms constitutes an immediate threat to peace is a debatable question; it is, however, apparent that all arms, not just those of Communist manufacture, are a threat to peace anywhere in the world. But, when considering this problem, it is advisable to approach it from an empirical rather than an emotional viewpoint, for only then can it be realized that Egypt's action in strengthening its armed forces is essentially designed not to unleash a new war but to create a favourable atmosphere in which a peaceful settlement of the Palestine problem may be negotiated. Nevertheless, this assumption does not necessarily imply a denial of the existence of a threat to peace in the Middle East. On the contrary, this threat has existed ever since 1917, when the Balfour Declaration promised the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine and thereby permitted the

invasion of that country by a host of foreign immigrants. Since that time, the Arab nation has been dissected into six weak countries, the State of Israel has been erected in their midst, and a whole people have consequently been rendered homeless. This tragic situation has been largely brought about by the blunderings, as well as by the conscious deliberations, of Western policy, and yet it is the Arabs who are accused of endangering peace.

The Arabs admittedly lost the struggle for the integrity of Palestine because, inspired as they were with the justice of their cause, they utterly failed to consider the formidable forces that faced them. It now remains to be seen, seven years after their defeat, whether common sense will prevail over the inevitable lust for revenge, and whether the Egyptian Government has purchased Communist arms for aggressive or for defensive purposes. This leads on to the question as to whether peace is threatened by Egypt or by Israel. The general trend of opinion both in the West and the Middle East expresses belief in the imminence of a second round and of a war for the annihilation of Zionism. This opinion, however, is much more a trend of thought than a political reality: for, out of the seven States represented in the Arab League, four are totally unable to launch an offensive, two are not entirely free agents, and the last, Egypt, besides holding an indefensible position at Gaza, is economically quite incapable of sustaining a war effort, especially when she is devoting all her energies towards internal development. Egypt, it should be remembered, is ruled by a military junta of realists, and it is only logical that they should apprehend the impracticability of an offensive. What, on the other hand, is particularly favourable to them is just what is happening at the moment: that is border incidents which, without seriously endangering peace in the area, are frequent enough to divert the attention of the people from domestic grievances towards more distant horizons, and of course to

emphasize the indispensability of the present Government. This temporary policy is intended to consolidate the position of the revolutionary *régime* so as to enable it to tackle with more vigour the social and economic problems of the country. The leading members of the Revolution Council have admittedly issued vociferous statements predicting the destruction of Israel, but there is none the less a significant disparity between principle and practice. The Egyptian Government has acted during the past few months with remarkable restraint in face of flagrant provocations from Israel, and its moderate behaviour is, to my mind, an inescapable proof of its peaceful intentions.

Arabs cannot accept as a *fait accompli* the appalling human tragedy of about one million Arab refugees of Palestine

Granted, therefore, that Egypt cannot afford, and indeed does not want, a war in Palestine, why, one may inquire, does she persistently refuse to negotiate a settlement, since it is clear that Israel is desirous of peace? Is it possible that she suspects aggressive intentions from the tiny State of Israel? At first glance the situation may imply just that; but the problem is not as simple as it appears. First, there is a certain prerequisite to a general peace settlement which cannot be passed over; and secondly, the small State of Israel is neither as helpless nor as innocent as it makes out.

The military defeat of the Arabs and the resulting territorial loss in Palestine the Arabs can accept, but it would be asking far too much for them to accept as a *fait accompli* the appalling human tragedy that has befallen the whole Arab population as a result of a physical conflict in which they took no part. I must stress the fact that the threat to peace lies not in Arab intransigence but in Israel's categorical denial of the right of the dispossessed refugees to return home. Seven years of absolute misery have elapsed since the seizure of their homeland; but it is plain that no lapse of time can possibly bring their acceptance of Zionism's usurpation; delay can only increase hatred and suffering, which is certainly not constructive towards either justice or peace. Israel has admittedly offered to pay compensation in return for an abandonment of the refugees' claims to their property and home: but such compensation, besides being incidental to the solution and therefore not being the solution, would be a compromise; and if one begins to compromise with an inalienable human right, I do not understand how one can expect to establish peace and stability for any length of time. After all, the whole structure of non-Communist society is founded upon a confirmation of the individual's right to his possessions and to his home; and the least that equity requests is that those who have suffered from the war in 1948 should be permitted to return home as soon as possible. Repatriation is the only solution acceptable to the Arabs, and the longer these wretched people are made to linger in rotting camps, the more eruptive and dangerous the consequences are likely to be. The Arab League has already defined its position concerning this vital problem and has demanded the application of the United Nations resolutions regarding the return of the refugees as an essential prerequisite to a permanent settlement which would restore the Middle East to normalcy.

Israel's desire for peace with Arabs is belied by her aggressive attacks on Arab countries

The question now arises whether Israel is as desirous of an equitable peace as her propaganda stipulates. She has persistently accused her Arab neighbours of aggressive designs. I do not, however, propose to probe the misinformation of that opinion, as I believe that recent events along the demarcation line speak for themselves. Israel's pin-pricks

and aggressive attacks do not necessarily imply, on the other hand, that she does not ultimately wish to reach a permanent settlement. Quite the contrary; she realizes that she can obtain a settlement exclusively favourable to herself only at the present time, and sees her existence imperilled if a peace is not signed as soon as possible. But whereas the Arab States are contending for an equitable peace, Israel is not seeking a solution based on justice or on the recognition of human rights: she intends to impose a settlement, by military force, if necessary, from which the weak Arab States would derive no advantage and from which repatriation of refugees and rectification of frontiers would be ruled out. And this situation is just what the recent arms agreement is meant to avert. The policy of the Egyptian Government is to prevent at all cost the final decision of the Palestine problem by force of arms, and to strengthen the relative diplomatic position of the Arab States by reinforcing them physically as a prelude to peace negotiations on a basis of equality, if not of strength.

In doing so, however, Egypt is incurring the risk of provoking Israeli aggression on an unprecedented scale, as there is a current belief that the balance of power, so jealously regulated by the West, has been destroyed by the introduction of substantial military equipment on one side. The United States and Britain, so long as they possessed a monopoly of influence over the Middle East, intended to maintain stability by rationing armaments to both sides; but in reality they were unconsciously endangering the delicate situation both by prolonging a human injustice and by maintaining an uneasy truce and a provocative demarcation line, on the basis of an equal balance of power which was in fact little more than an illusion. The balance of power hitherto maintained by the Western Powers was not based on a simple ratio but on the assumption that Israel should always be able to repel Arab aggression, and this, owing to her precarious geographical and economic position, meant the maintenance of Israeli superiority. Egypt, therefore, cannot have increased the fear of aggression by destroying a non-existent balance of power. What she has done, on the other hand, is to arouse suspicion as to the intended use of her newly-acquired weapons, as well as to give impetus to the clamour in Israel for a preventive war and an immediate forcible settlement of the demarcation line before the Egyptian army has time to be reorganized. This threat is, none the less, partially averted by the Tripartite agreement between the United States, Britain and France, confirming the integrity of the present frontiers against any attack. But this *entente* loses much of its effect since neither belligerent accepts it since it was never regarded by its signatories to be recognition of the present boundaries as permanent, or the guarantee against their violation as anything more than a temporary expedient.

In fact, however, this method of maintaining peace falsified the ultimate objective, since it was somewhat illogical to conduct an arms policy based on the assumption of equality and at the same time to advertise Israel's absolute military superiority over all its rivals put together. If it was the intention of the West to maintain that balance of power until a solution was found to the Palestine problem, it was a gross misrepresentation of Arab policy to expect any Arab government to negotiate when it felt itself militarily and diplomatically at a disadvantage, and especially when it was apprehended that Israel was using her present superiority to frighten the Arabs into signing a hasty peace. Western policy, therefore, far from being conducive towards peace, not only maintained a false balance which favoured one and a half million Jews as against over forty million Arabs, but

also hindered their own search for settlement and increased the threat of Israeli aggression.

The strengthening of Egypt's army should in the long run be more constructive to peace in the Middle East than anything else

The strengthening of the Egyptian army should in the long run be constructive towards peace, as I am convinced that the Arabs, for practical reasons, have no intention of attacking Israel, but that they intend to start negotiations as soon as they feel themselves in such a position as to secure those terms which their dismal defeat in 1948 made impossible. The chance of such a development would indeed have been small, had the Western Powers not clarified their position after Egypt's *volte-face*. The rapidly changing situation in the Middle East has given Israel an opportunity to launch a preventive war; the three Powers of the Tripartite agreement have consequently realized that their responsibilities under that declaration might involve them in hostilities, and they have found themselves compelled to revise their policy by adopting more satisfactory expedients. There is a favourable sign that the British Government has at long last realized that a permanent guarantee of stable frontiers is preferable to the dilatory and eruptive policy of upholding iniquitous boundaries and perpetuating a human injustice. In this way, Egypt's purchase of arms, as well as the threat of Soviet infiltration, has led to a radical revision of British and American Middle Eastern policy and to a somewhat tardy recognition of the defects of the present territorial arrangements. The British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, has taken a step further, and in doing so is the first British statesman to have judged the Palestine problem from an impartial point of view, since it was brought into existence in 1917; for he has settled the limit beyond which mediation would be useless. His solution would

undoubtedly be of immense value to both sides and, despite the fact that Israel would have to cede part of her territory while the Arabs merely abandoned theoretical claims, Israel would inevitably profit from the restoration of a peaceful atmosphere which would not only confirm her existence but also establish infinitely favourable economic and commercial intercourse with the rest of the Middle East.

Israel has, nevertheless, chosen to repudiate the Eden proposals, but the Arab position remains essentially unchanged; that is, that repatriation and rectification of frontiers are an absolute prerequisite to a general peaceful agreement. And if one is led to think that such a solution is particularly unfavourable to Israel, one would do well to remember that it is not irrational on the part of the Arabs to request some proof of Israel's peaceful intentions, since she is, after all, an intruder in their midst who has wrested a vital section of the Arab homeland. Justice, consequently, demands that they should place conditions to test Israel's honesty and sincerity before this unwelcome neighbour can possibly be integrated into a unified and peaceful Middle East.

Despite the fact that Israel has refused to cede an inch of territory or allow the return of a single refugee, the future outlook is not as discouraging as it appears. The Western Powers have made it plain that any aggression would forfeit Western sympathy, and in Israel's case, this would imply a withholding of the financial help that sustains her artificial economy. So long as no attack is forthcoming, I am certain that the resurgence of Egypt in the Middle East will be a contributory factor towards a peaceful settlement; and that the revision of British policy and its decision to find an equitable solution will ultimately restore Arab confidence, so rudely shaken in the past, and will diminish Soviet influence, whose recent intrusion in one of the world's most strategic areas can only be a sign of trouble and disruption that must be averted at all costs.

(Continued from page 10)

being besides whom everything else is perishable, who has taken us out of the darkness of paganism into the light of Islam and has shown us the right course after we had been misled. I have appointed you Supreme Commander and you are to take over the charge of the army from Khalid. Do not send the Muslims on hazardous enterprises for the sake of booty, nor send them in small numbers against big forces of the enemy. You should not say that you have hope of victory, as victory does not come from mere hope but by deep conviction of the soundness of one's cause and through faith in the Lord. Beware of endangering the safety of the Muslims or landing them in disaster. Shut your eyes to the splendour of the world and restrain your heart from succumbing to its temptations. Be on your guard against loving it, for this is sure to destroy you as it has done to the bygone peoples. You have seen their tragic end and are aware of the spiritual disease from which they suffered. There lies a thin curtain between you and the next world. Your predecessors have already gone and you are living, so to say, in expectation of your departure any moment from this dreary world. The wisest man is he who is ready to leave and has divine fear as his provision. Be considerate to the Muslims as much as you can.

"The wheat and barley which you got at Damascus, and which was cause of much quarrel among you, should be given to the Muslims, and the gold and silver found there

should also be distributed among them after taking out the Khums (Contré's share)."

"As for your dispute with Khalid regarding peace and war, your opinion must be decisive in all such matters, as you are the Commander-in-Chief. The treaty you have concluded with the people of Damascus must be enforced. Khalid made a mistake in giving away the daughter³ of Heraclius as a present to her father. He should have realized a good ransom that could be spent on needy Muslims."

(To be continued)

2 The letter up to here is also found in *Haq'iq al-Akhbar al-Salat* of Faridun Beg, quoted on p. 453 of *Ashhar al-Mashahir* 'l-Islam by Rafiq Beg 'Azmi.

3 The daughter of Heraclius was the wife of Tuma, the able Commander of the fort of Damascus. According to the terms of the surrender treaty, Abu 'Ubaydah granted the residents of the town right of emigration along with everything they wished to carry, and an assurance that within three days and nights of their departure, they would not be molested. When Tuma and many other Greeks departed, they took with them large quantities of valuable articles, such as silken raiment, gold and silver. Khalid was very unhappy to find the wealth of Damascus thus drained off, and though he thoroughly disliked the terms of the treaty, he had to give in as Abu 'Ubaydah had already consented to it. He planned to attack Tuma and capture his valuable luggage. He overtook him far away in the hills of northern Syria. Tuma was killed in the fighting and his wife taken prisoner. On a request from Heraclius, Khalid released her. (*Futuh al-Sham* of Waqidi, Cairo, 1/45-52.)

A PRE-VIEW OF THE LEIPZIG SPRING FAIR

(26th FEBRUARY to 8th MARCH, 1956)

Foreign interest, particularly the interest of the South American countries and the States of the Near and Middle East, will find expression in a greater participation in the 1956 Leipzig Spring Fair. A number of world-renowned West European firms which have not hitherto exhibited at the Leipzig Fair will be represented in the technical section, i.e., ACEC, Belgium; Pye, Great Britain; Oerlikon, Buehrle & Co., Switzerland; A. B. Kanthal, Sweden; and others. The foodstuffs section will show the goods of exhibitors from about twenty countries; the textile section will be as usual international, and books and printed goods will come from twelve foreign countries.

Almost forty countries will show their products in thirty-three Fair buildings and halls and in fifteen pavilions, covering an area of about 265,000 sq. metres. The industries and trades of the German Democratic Republic will occupy a large part of the total space with extensive exhibits of quality products of all kinds. The firms from the German Federal Republic will take up about 15 per cent more space than at the 1955 Leipzig Spring Fair. The Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, Belgium, Great Britain, France, Finland, Egypt, India, Argentina and Uruguay will also participate. Furthermore, products from the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Ireland, the United States, Chile, Columbia, Jamaica, Paraguay and the Union of South Africa will be shown.

Important and world-renowned firms from foreign countries will be represented among others in the technical section of the Fair. Standard Motors, Massey-Harris-Ferguson and Pye from Great Britain, as well as ACEC from Belgium, will show their internationally-known products. Schoeller-Pleckmann, the Oesterreich-Alpine-Montangesellschaft and the Metallwerk Plansee will exhibit from Austria, and France will display office machines through the Chambre Syndicale des Fabricants Français de Matériel de Bureau. The dye works, CIBA, Geigy and Sandoz will exhibit as representatives of Switzerland.

About twenty countries will participate in the international textile section. In addition to the section exhibiting the products of the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic, there will be exhibited products from France, Great Britain, Austria, Sweden, Denmark, the Soviet Union, China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Roumania. The firm FABELTA will appear among Belgian exhibitors with rayon thread and yarn, the Leidsche Wolspinnerij N.V. will come from the Netherlands with knitting and industrial yarns, and from Ireland there will be the "Gaeltarra Eireann" with tweeds. In the shoe department the foreign countries will be represented mainly by Belgium, France, Austria, Sweden and Czechoslovakia, whereas Belgium, Luxemburg and Poland will display their products in the leather goods.

Foreign exhibitors at the jewellery and watches section will hail from the Netherlands (Fischsilber), France and Switzerland (e.g., the world-famed firm Omega).

At the Spring Fair once again most European countries will exhibit their books and printed goods, among them being Belgium, France, Switzerland, Great Britain and, for the first time, Yugo-

slavia. Besides these there will be the exhibits of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Roumania and Bulgaria. In addition to these the People's Republic of China and the United States will also exhibit their publications.

Foreign countries will be well represented in the other branches of the Fair — chemical and pharmaceutical products from France, Belgium and Switzerland. France, Czechoslovakia and Poland will also offer their products in the furniture display. Czechoslovakia will be represented in the china and glassware section.

In the household goods section, washing machines and vacuum cleaners from France as well as electric razors and razor blades from Switzerland will be of interest. Great Britain and Denmark will bring art and handicraft products to Leipzig, and Austria will show musical strings and colophony, Czechoslovakia musical goods and toys.

The technical sector, representing the main item of the Leipzig Spring Fair, will display products of numerous factories of the German Democratic Republic. The industry of precision engineering and optics, world-renowned through firms such as VEB Carl Zeiss, Jena, Buchungsmaschinenwerk Karl-Marx-Stadt and Ihagee, Dresden, will offer new office machines, advanced cameras and optical products of the highest precision. In radio and television engineering there will be on display noteworthy new developments. Textile machines and machine tools, important items in the foreign trade of the German Democratic Republic, will occupy a prominent place in its exhibits.

The German Federal Republic will be represented with a bigger and better display of its products — shoes and leather goods from Pirmasens and Offenbach, wines from the Rhine and Mosel, steelware from Solingen. The products of Staedtler, from Nürnberg, Schwan and Faber (office equipment), Gebr. Junghans and Walther Storz (clocks and watches), the Deutsche Grammophon-Gesellschaft, Hanover (records and gramophones), and Steinway & Sons, the makers of world-renowned pianos, will be showing their goods.

Among the enterprises of the heavy chemical industry, the names of Bayer-Leverkusen, E. Merck A.G., the Farbwerke Hoechst, the Casella-Farbwerke and the Badische Anilin-und Sodafabrik should be especially mentioned.

The West German metallurgical industry will also participate extensively in the Fair. About forty bookings from the iron and steel industry include the firms Hösch, Phönix-Rheinrohr AG, Klöckner, the cast iron works — Bochumer Verein AG, Gebr. Böhler & Co. AG — the Deutsche Edelstahlwerke AG, the Westfälische Union and the Buderus'sche Eisenwerke.

In addition, numerous important machine construction firms will display, e.g., the DEMAG-Zug, J. H. Voith, the Seitz-Werke, Salzgitter AG and Bopp & Reuther.

The vehicle section of the Fair will once again contain products of important West German enterprises. Zündapp, NSU, Triumph, Viktoria and Ardie will be seen among the motor-cycles. The exhibits of tractors will this time be extremely extensive, as a result of the exhibits of the products of Heinrich Lanz, Güldner-Motoren, Hanomag, Fendt and Allgaier. Further, the well-known multi-purpose vehicle Unimog, of Daimler-Benz AG, will be on exhibit, as also a collection of its Diesel engines.

What our Readers say . . .

THE CYPRUS QUESTION IS NOT THE SAME AS
THAT OF SOMALILAND

56 Yildiz Street,
Limassol,
Cyprus.

2nd December 1955.

Dear Brother-in-Islam,

Assalamu 'aleykum!

In *The Islamic Review* for October 1955 our Somali brother, Mr. Ahmed Dualeh, in ably outlining the background of the sufferings of our Somali brethren and their present legitimate struggle for liberty and independence, also referred to what is now happening in Cyprus as in Morocco

and Kenya. By lumping Cyprus with Morocco and Kenya, unfortunately, he represented the unjust claim of the Cyprus Levantine Christians, calling themselves Greek, to the "union" of Cyprus with Greece and the unlawful acts of terrorism committed by them against innocent officials and people as "a right cause and struggle of a homogeneous people for liberty and self-determination".

As a Cypriot Muslim-Turk and regular reader of *The Islamic Review*, I consider it my duty to correct the wrong impression of Mr. Ahmed Dualeh and all your readers — Muslims and others — in regard to Cyprus.

I wish Mr. Dualeh and your readers were aware of the strong arguments put forward by the Turkish delegation to

the United Nations last year and also by a later Turkish delegation to the recent London Tripartite Conference on Cyprus against the unjust claim of the "union" of this Turkish island with Greece. The established fact is that Cyprus is not a self-dependent country like Morocco, Kenya or Somaliland, the people of the which countries are homogeneous and can rightly claim and enjoy sovereign rights; it is a small island geographically forming part of, and strategically and economically dependent on, the mainland of Turkey, and has a mixed population of slightly over half a million, consisting of Orthodox Christians (claiming to be Greek in contradiction of historical facts), Turkish-Muslims (100,000 strong and true descendants of the Turkish conquerors of Cyprus), and such small minorities as English, Armenian and others. Of all these various communities of the island, only a minority of Orthodox-Christians led by the clergy of the Church are claiming and perpetrating unlawful acts of terrorism to achieve the "union" of Cyprus with Greece, an unjust claim which is strongly opposed by all other sections of the population (including a great many far-seeing moderate and logical members of the Orthodox-Christian community who cannot express freely their opinion in view of the threats of the Church and terrorists) on the above-mentioned grounds and also because it would ultimately lead to Communist domination through the Red majority of the Orthodox-Christian population who are strongly organized and led by Moscow.

For further facts about the thorny Cyprus question, on the just solution of which depends the existence and future of a hundred thousand Muslim Turks, I should like to refer our Somali brother and your readers to the cogent article of our learned Mufti of Cyprus, His Eminence Mehmed Dana, under the title of "The Truth about the Union of Cyprus with Greece", which was published in *The Islamic Review* for April 1955, and which furnished all the fundamental information and historical facts about Cyprus, including the origin and the present position of its population as well as the geographical and strategical factors which are of primary importance in determining the future of a country like Cyprus.

Yours faithfully,

SABRI KONUR.

FINLAND-PAKISTAN FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY

The Consulate for Pakistan,
Helsinki,
Finland.

Dear Sir,

The Finland-Pakistan Friendship Society at Helsinki recently published a booklet in the Finnish language on Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah, *Qaid-i-a'zam*, the founder of Pakistan. The booklet is written by Miss Martta Suhonen, M.A., a high school teacher who during the past years spent her Christmas and summer vacations in Pakistan.

The Finland-Pakistan Friendship Society was established in 1953 with the aim of strengthening and developing the cultural ties between Finland and Pakistan. The President of the Society is Mr. Armas Salonen, Professor of Oriental Literature at the State University of Helsinki, the Vice-President is Dr. R. Oller, Honorary Consul for Pakistan in Finland, and the Secretary is Mr. Y. Daher, a prominent Finnish Muslim lawyer.

The booklet is being distributed free not only to the members of the Society but also to the Finnish Press, the members of the Finnish Oriental Society and of the Muslim Congregation of Finland, and other similar organizations.

Yours sincerely,

R. OLLER, Ph.D.

ZIONIST INTRIGUES

BURMA ISLAMIC COUNCIL

No. 11, 130th Street,
Rangoon.

28th September 1955.

Dear Sir,

The following letter was written by the famous British writer Ethel Mannin, who recently visited Burma. One of her latest books was *The Land of Crested Lions*. This letter appeared in *The Guardian* monthly, Rangoon, for April 1955. The one and a half million Burmese Muslims heartily thank Ethel Mannin for her splendid exposition of the Zionist intrigues, and we are sure that with the exception of a few individuals who support Israel — due to prejudice or ignorance, or both — the Arab cause has very strong support in Burma.

Yours sincerely,

MAUNG-KO GHAFARI.

Oak Cottage,
London, S.W.19.

"I have only just received the December 1954 issue of *The Guardian*, and I am both surprised and distressed to find in it a boost for the State of Israel, in the shape of an article concerning an Israeli heroine, with which you publish a photograph of young people with the slogan, 'They fought for the freedom of Israel'.

"I am surprised because I would have thought that in a country which has only in the last few years achieved its independence there would have been a realization of the acute difference between a liberating nationalism and an imperialist one. The Germans under Hitler were, for example, imperialist nationalists, whereas the Indians, for example, struggling for independence from the British yoke, were engaged in the struggles of a liberating nationalism.

"I am distressed because in publishing this article you seem quite unaware of the fact that the price of the existence of the State of Israel is nearly one million Palestine Arabs in concentration camps and in the wilderness in Jordan, the Lebanon and the Gaza strip. Many Arabs are now living on the frontiers drawn when Israel was created — by force of arms — in villages within sight of the lands they once owned and tilled and from which by this partition they are cut off. Others are cut off from their water supplies.

"The Israelis do not deny the existence of this tragic multitude of the dispossessed; how can they, indeed, for the camps exist. They say they are willing to make 'compensation' when the Arabs make peace. The Arabs say that they will never make peace — and why, indeed, should they? If dacoits break into your house and occupy it and seize the land, and you, homeless and dispossessed, are living in a camp or in caves in the wilderness, would you be prepared to 'make peace' and receive 'compensation'?

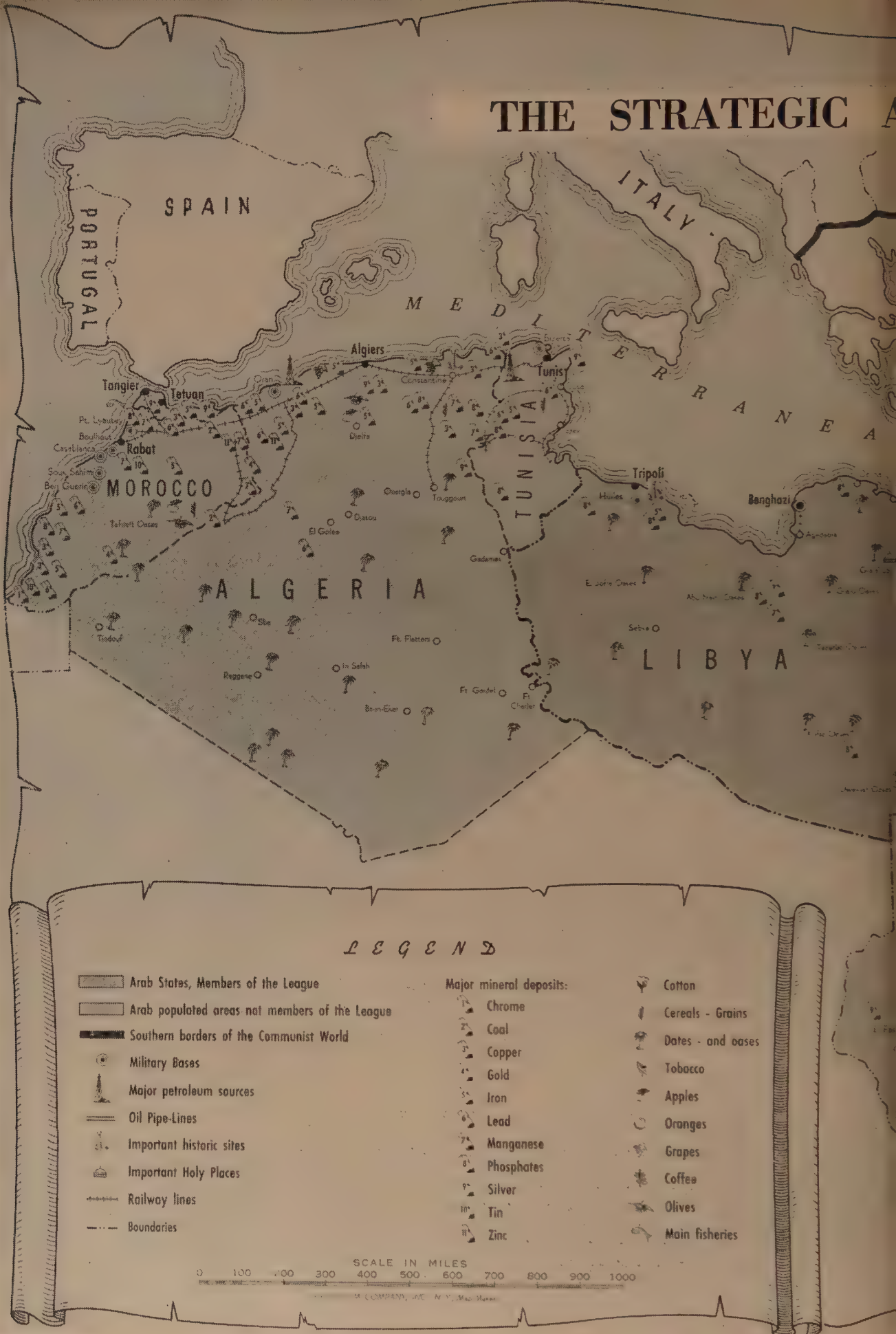
"The Israelis, the Zionists, claim that they are the original people of Palestine. In fact they are nothing of the kind. The old name for Palestine is Philistia, by which name it is still known to the Arabs, and the people of ancient Philistia were not the Jews but the Philistines.

"Does it not seem to you bitterly ironic that the Jews, the people who suffered persecution under Hitler, and who were, many of them, turned out of their homes and dispossessed of land and property by the Nazis, now in turn dispossess and make homeless, and force into concentration camps — force them in the sense that they have nowhere else to go — another people?

"Is *The Guardian*, a magazine published in a country which knows what it is to be under the rule of occupiers, first the British, then the Japanese, to be the mouthpiece of Zionism, with its monstrous injustice to the Palestine Arabs? I was naïve enough to believe that the Burmese would have come out on the side of the Arabs; I would like to think that others besides myself will feel surprised and grieved to find *The Guardian*, a Burmese publication, supporting imperialism — the occupation of one country by another by force of arms.

"ETHEL MANNIN."

THE STRATEGIC A



Note 1: The white area south of Lebanon and west of Jordan is Israeli-occupied territory of Palestine.

O-MUSLIM WORLD



Note 2: The white north-western corner of Syria is the Syrian province of Alexandretta, occupied by Turkey.

FACTS AND FIGURES ABOUT THE ARAB WORLD

A DECADE OF PROGRESS

1945-1954

Introduction to the Arab world

The Arab world comprises eight independent States and ten non-self-governing Arab territories. A third larger than the United States in area, it is the crossroads of East and West, the cradle of modern civilization, and the birthplace of three world religions. Its strategic importance is attested to, among other things, by the number of military bases (which appear on the map on pages 20-21 — such as Casablanca, Port Lyautey and Sidi Suleiman (in Morocco), Hulies (in Libya) and Dahrán (Sa'udi Arabia).

For centuries under colonial rule, the Arab States have only recently achieved independence. They are just beginning to develop their resources, to introduce basic social reforms and to seek greater unity under the League of Arab States.

About 80 million in number, the Arabs share a common culture and language. While most of them are Muslims, many are Christians and some are Jews.

The vast land area is largely arid, but millions of acres of fertile land lie within reach of great rivers.

AREA AND POPULATION States members of the Arab League

Country	Area (in square miles)	Population
Egypt	383,000	21,935,000 (1953)
Iraq	171,000	4,871,000 (1952)
Jordan	37,264	1,360,000 (1953)
The Lebanon	4,015	1,353,000 (1953)
Libya	679,358	1,092,000 (1955)
Sa'udi Arabia	618,000	7,000,000 (estim.)
Syria	71,258	3,433,626 (1953)
The Yemen	75,300	5,000,000 (estim.)

Non-self-governing Territories

Arabian Peninsula:

Aden, colony and protectorate	112,000	950,000
Bahrain	213	110,000
Kuwait	3,650	205,000
Muscat and 'Oman	82,000	550,000
Qatar	8,000	18,000
Trucial Shaikhdoms	43,000 (estim.)	80,000

Africa:

Algeria	847,500	8,682,000 (1948)
Morocco	172,104	9,184,000
The Sudan	967,500	8,764,000
Tunisia	48,195	3,143,000

Agriculture

The vast majority of the Arabs live off the land, while only a very small minority are Bedouins. On intensely-cultivated plots of land, watered mostly by irrigation systems, they grow some of the world's finest long-staple cotton, as well as coffee, grains (cereals), fruits, dates, tobacco and olives.

WHEAT (in 000's of metric tons)

	1945	1954
Egypt	946	1,547
Iraq	390	762
Jordan	81	64*
The Lebanon	350	510
Libya	14	15
Syria	459	870
Total	2,240	3,768

COTTON (in 000's of metric tons)

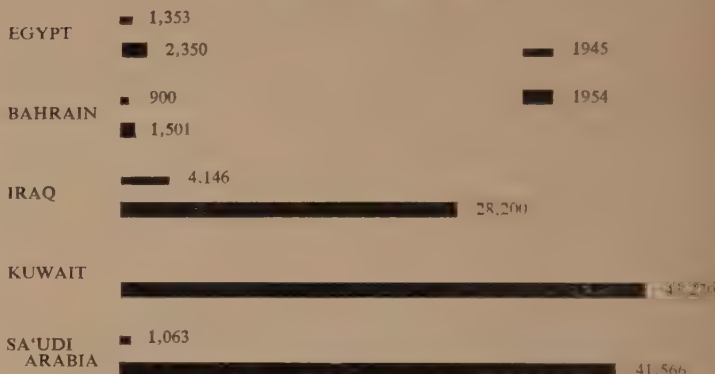
Egypt	209	318
Syria	—	48
Total	209	366

*1951 figures.

Resources

More than half of the world's known petroleum is found in the Arab world, which supplies almost 80 per cent of the peacetime needs of NATO countries. These lands are also known to have a rich variety of other natural resources, and they now provide growing quantities of iron, coal, phosphates, copper, lead, nickel, manganese, gold, silver, sulphur and nitrates.

PRODUCTION OF CRUDE PETROLEUM (In 000's of metric tons)



Main industries

Egypt: Cotton spinning, cotton weaving, cotton ginning and pressing, woollen, silk and rayon manufacture, cement, sugar, chemical fertilizers, paper, rubber, tobacco, petroleum products, food canning and leather industries.

Syria: Cement, tobacco, edible oils, cotton ginning, glass, textiles, food preserving.

Sa'udi Arabia: Oil industry, tanning, fishing industry, wool spinning and weaving.

The Yemen: Textile industry, fishing industries, cement, leather industries.

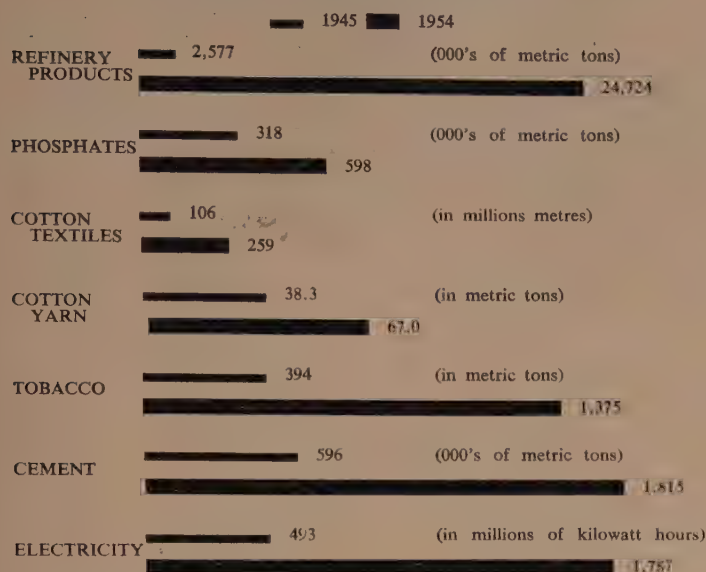
The Lebanon: Cotton spinning, cotton weaving, woollen fabric, silk and rayon, cement, sugar, tobacco and cigarettes, vegetable oil, leather, food canning.

Iraq: Oil industry, drilling and refining, cotton ginning, cotton spinning and weaving, rayon weaving, cement, date packing, cigarettes.

Jordan: Cigarettes, vegetable canning, matches, marble, cement.

Libya: Sponge fishing industries, extraction of olive oil, mineral water and soft drinks, tobacco, rugs and carpets.

INCREASE IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION ARAB STATES (various scales)



Development

In recent years, most Arab States have established Central Development Boards, for planning and implementing different national development projects. These projects fall into three main categories: (1) irrigation, land reclamation, flood control, and production of electric power; (2) highways, railroads, ports and airports; and (3) diversification of industry by introducing new industries and expanding old ones.

The following is a brief description of selected development projects in the various Arab States:

Egypt: The chief water-control hydro-electric reclamation projects are: the Aswan Dam hydro-electric project (to be completed in 1957, expected to produce 1.5 billion kwh), the Sadd al-'Ali Dam (expected to cost \$500 million, and to increase Egypt's cultivable land by one-third, i.e., 2 million acres, and to generate 6 billion kwh), and the Four-Year Plan (expected to be completed by 1956 and to reclaim 312,000 acres). The major industrial projects include a fertilizer plant near Aswan (capacity 375,000 tons of calcium nitrates), a steel plant near Cairo (capacity 240,000 tons), a rubber tyre plant (capacity 200,000 tons annually), and beet-sugar and jute plants, also plastics, wood and cement pipe industries.

Iraq: The chief flood-control projects are Tharthar (costing \$31 million) and Habbaniya (costing \$4 million), to be completed in 1955-56. The Dujailah and Bakhme Dams for irrigation have a capacity of 3.5 and 2.7 billion cubic metres respectively. The Dakan Dam will reclaim land and generate 225,000 horsepower. Industrial projects include a bitumen refinery (capacity 60,000 tons of bitumen), a cotton textile plant, cement factories, and projects for the utilization of natural gas.

The Lebanon: The Akkar and Lake Yammounch projects, expected to reclaim 24,000 acres each, and the Litani River project, expected to irrigate 12,000 acres and to increase the hydro-electric power of the country.

Libya: Developing the ports of the country, afforestation, developing the fishing industry, establishing a broadcasting corporation, and diverse public works.

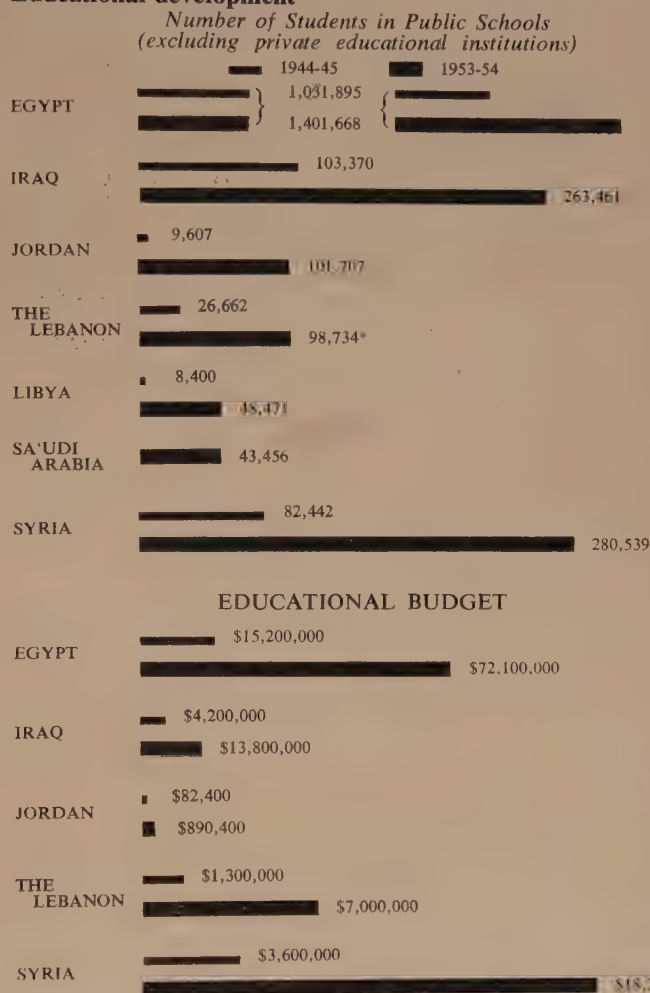
Saudi Arabia: Besides the construction of the Hijaz Railway and its extension to Jidda and Riyadh, there are a number of development projects for which more than 17 per cent of the total national budget has been allocated in 1954-55.

Syria: The Euphrates Dam, reclaiming about 72,000 acres and increasing the hydro-electric power, the Yarmuk and Barada projects, producing hydro-electric energy for Damascus and Hauran, the drainage of the Ghab marshes, adding 100,000 acres to Syria's agricultural land, and the development of Latakia port as well as an oil refinery.

Health budget

	1944-45	1953-54
	\$	\$
Egypt*	10,200,000	22,100,000
Iraq**	2,500,000	7,600,000
Jordan	140,000	840,000
The Lebanon	1,200,000	3,000,000
Saudi Arabia		
In 1953 the health budget reached \$7 million and an additional \$8 million to be spent on medical buildings and equipment, as compared to a yearly average of \$2 million for earlier budgets.		
Syria	1,100,000	5,300,000

Educational development



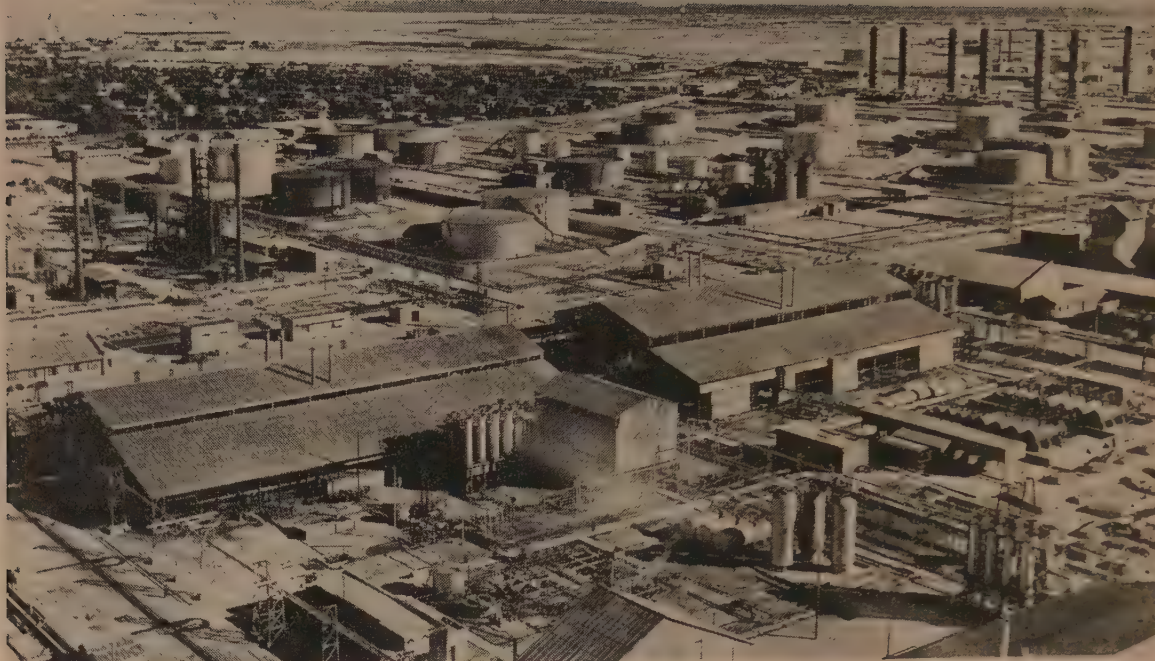
The educational appropriations of Arab countries vary from 11% to 17% of National Budgets.

The reform and reorganization of the systems of land tenure have recently received high priority in a number of Arab States:

(Continued on page 26)

* In Egypt between 1942 and 1953 three medical schools were established.

** In Iraq there are 400 State dispensaries in addition to specialized hospitals for maternity and child welfare. A five-year plan financed by the Iraqi Development Board provides for the expansion and the modernization of the existing medical buildings.



A view of the oil refining plant and storage tanks at Abadan, Iran, built by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, whose concession for exploiting oil in Iran was terminated on 15th March 1951 by the Musaddiq Government of Iran.

European propaganda at that time was vociferously advertising to the world that the oil refinery at Abadan would go to rack and ruin without the supervision of European technicians. But as admitted even by foreign experts who later visited Abadan, the refinery was kept by Iranian technicians alone in such excellent condition from 1951-54 that when the Consortium was formed in 1954 it was able to start loading oil almost immediately.

IRAN'S NEW OIL AGREEMENT AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF HER SEVEN-YEAR PLAN

By G. NEVILLE-BAGOT

Some details of the new oil agreement

On 29th October 1954 the Iranian Government and the National Iranian Oil Company signed an agreement with eight leading companies, Gulf Oil Corporation, Socony-Vacuum Oil Company (now known as Socony Mobil Oil Company Incorporated), Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), Standard Oil Company of California, and the Texas Company, each of which have an 8 per cent interest in a new Consortium to implement this agreement with the above-mentioned Iranian authorities. The former Anglo-Iranian Company, now renamed The British Petroleum Company Limited, had a 40 per cent interest in this Consortium, the NV de Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij 14 per cent and the Compagnie Française des Pétroles 6 per cent.

These British, United States, Dutch and French interests signed an agreement which had already been ratified by the Iranian Majlis on 21st October 1954, and by the Iranian Senate on 28th October 1954, and signed by the Shah of Iran on 29th October 1954.

The American companies' signatories of the agreement each surrendered 1 per cent of their interests in the Consortium to nine other independent American companies. The agreement is for twenty-five years with provisions for three extensions of five years each. These extensions can be put into force under certain conditions by the Consortium, which has been formed according to the prescriptions of Dutch law in two sections: the first deals with promoting the exploration for, and the production of, oil, and the second with organizing the operation of the oil refineries. The shares of these companies are held by the Iranian Oil Participants Ltd., with its headquarters in London, but they are registered in the operational headquarters of the management of this company, which are in Iran.

The operating companies are solely responsible for the exploration as well as for the refining of the oil in a defined area of Southern Iran, including the Abadan refinery. The operating companies will not own the fixed assets of the oil industry in Southern Iran but will operate them on behalf of

the Iranian Government without restriction during the period of the agreement. They will exercise their powers on behalf of the Iranian Government and the National Iranian Oil Company.

The Consortium has formed a company in London, known as the Iranian Oil Services Ltd., to purchase equipment and to recruit personnel.

The operating companies will receive a fee of one shilling per cubic metre (or roughly 2.2 cents per U.S. barrel), plus their operating costs from the trading companies which buy and sell oil for export in Iran independently of each other.

The National Iranian Oil Company sells the oil produced to the trading companies in such a way as to ensure an equal sharing between both parties of the profits derived by the trading company from operations in Iran.

The production figures guaranteed by the Consortium for crude oil production in Iran are as follows: first year 17,500,000 cubic metres (300,000 barrels per day); second year 27,500,000 cubic metres (470,000 barrels per day); third year 35,000,000 cubic metres (600,000 barrels per day). These figures are in addition to the requirements for internal consumption of the National Iranian Oil Company. Later production figures will be subject to the trends of the Middle East crude oil market. The refinery export programme is aimed at exporting 7,500,000 cubic metres (130,000 barrels) and 15,000,000 cubic metres (260,000 barrels) in the third year.

The National Iranian Oil Company

The National Iranian Oil Company may take up to 12½ per cent of the total production of oil in lieu of payment and sell it to foreign customers. It operates the Naft-i-Shah oilfield, the Kermanshah refinery, and is responsible for oil production and exploration outside the specific areas laid down in the agreement. It also operates and maintains certain ancillary or "non-basic" operations required by the operational companies.

There are at present some 48,000 Iranians employed in the oil industry in Iran and 150-350 foreign technical staff of the Consortium (the foreign participation is not expected to exceed 500), with an Iranian, Mr. A. Gh. Bayat, as its Managing Director.

From Iranian sources one gathers that only 280 foreign experts are now needed, and that the maximum will never exceed 450. The Iranians point out that in 1951 there were 3,623 foreigners on the salaried staff of the Anglo-Iranian Company, and it stresses the discrepancy between this figure and the 280 already quoted, showing that there appear to have been over 3,000 foreigners employed in jobs which could have been filled by Iranians. The Iranians also view with pride the fact that the Abadan refinery was kept in excellent condition from 1951-54 by the Iranian technicians, under the direction of Dr. Falah, Head of the Refinery, so that the Consortium could start loading oil almost immediately. This was admitted, they point out, by all foreign experts who visited Abadan.

In the first eleven months of the operation of the new oil agreement which replaced the pre-nationalization agreement of 1953 with the former Anglo-Iranian Company (now known as the British Petroleum), the Iranian Government, or rather the National Iranian Oil Company, received £26,700,000 for operation in Khuzistan, and in the Iranian year ending in March 1956 this figure will have reached the sum of £35 million, together with a sum of about £18 million

in foreign exchange which has been earmarked for operation expenses. This sum is expected to rise to £67 million in the year ending March 1958.

Crude oil production for the first eleven months of the new agreement amounted to 12,666,000 tons. In January 1957, by the new agreement, the Iranian Government will pay British Petroleum, Ltd., £2,500,000, the first of ten such instalments by way of compensation for the expropriation of the Anglo-Iranian Company's former lease and property. The other companies forming the Consortium will pay British Petroleum, Ltd., £214 million in return for sharing the operational profits formerly held exclusively by the Anglo-Iranian Company.

The Iranian Government is losing no time in getting on with its seven-year plan, which was severely curbed in recent years through the various problems related to the oil dispute. However, it should be stressed that during these years in certain respects Iran increased her trade through various barter arrangements. Under the oil agreement Iran can expect to receive £40 million in the first year and £80 million in the third year. The British Board of Trade Journal for 16th April 1955 noted that Iran had already received imports to the value of £37 million and that she would receive a further £10 million for the purchase of "goods and services from the United Kingdom". In this issue a fully comprehensive account is given of Iran's requirements as regards imports, and her various economic projects and the possible markets for British exports to Iran. It says that Iran needs the following imports from private firms: textile machinery, oil extracting machinery, machinery for the preparation of cotton, rice and tea, electric power plants, pumps and motors for irrigation, mining equipment, heavy transport vehicles.

Iran's Seven-Year Plan

Under the chairmanship of Mr. Ebtehaj, the Iran Plan organization is putting into force its seven-year plan of modernization under the following six chapters:

	<i>rials</i>
Roads, railways, ports and airports	3,450,000,000
Industry and mines	1,406,000,000
Post and telegraph communications	1,500,000,000
Education, health, schools, hospitals, expansion of electricity supplies, water supply	1,866,000,000

The official rate of exchange of the rial is 91 to the £, but the commercial rate is 214.0.

Iran has £15 million of unused credits at her disposal. France has extended 5 milliard francs (approximately £5 million) to Iran for the purchase of capital goods. There is already fierce competition in Iran between British, American, French, German and Japanese firms, and the Soviet Union is hoping to export industrial equipment and vehicles. British exports, which before the oil crisis in 1950 were valued at £30 million were £8 million in 1954. The British firm of Messrs. John Mowlem has secured a contract for £20-30 million to resurface with asphalt 6,000 kilometres or 3,700 miles of roads in Iran. This is Britain's major foreign contract.

The British firm of Richard Costain-John Brown, Ltd., is building an oil pipeline from Ahwaz to Azna. This contract is worth £6,550,000. British firms have carried off orders for £5 million pounds for rails and £1,500,000 for tractors and agricultural machinery.

For many years the famous firm of consulting engineers,

Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners, have been concerned with piping the water supplies of Teheran. A French firm is building a pipeline, and the Dutch firm of Kampsax, which for many years has been one of the contractors, together with several Iranian firms, of the State railways, is participating in the expansion of the ports of Khorramshah and Bandar-shapur, while the railways are being extended from Teheran to Meshhed in the east and to Tabriz in the north.

Agricultural development and general amenities have been greatly improved by the building of the Karaj Dam, the construction of an artificial lake reservoir for the Teheran water supply, the construction of the Sha'biyeh, Dimtchey, Gatvand and Ajdichai (Azerbaijan) dams, the artificial reservoir lake at Hamadan and a similar project at Gorgan (on the Caspian Sea), and the building of a dam at Kum (pronounced Ghoum).

The woollen textile industry is being very considerably expanded at Isphahan, Tabriz and Yazd.

Cotton piece-goods, produced at Behshahr, on the Caspian Sea, as well as at Isphahan, Teheran, Tabriz and Yazd, are being produced in increasing numbers. The silk industry is also being expanded at Tchalloos. Apart from the modernizing and expansion of the textile industry, ten sugar beet factories have been constructed and three more factories will be in production in the sugar beet industry this year.

A new cement factory, constructed at Fars at a cost of £3,000,000, is producing 200 tons of cement per day. This figure is expected to be increased to 600 tons per day within three years.

The industrial expansion programme also embraces the chemical industry and the wood-cutting industry.

Thus after three and a half years of frustration, Iran, having obtained undisputed possession of the fixed assets of the oil extraction and refining industry, is slowly recovering from the loss of revenue, which must have amounted to at least £100 million sterling, and her long-delayed agricultural and industrial projects which will turn her into a modern nation are taking shape. At present it is still too early to distinguish between all the projects; for some are being implemented while others are open to tender, and yet others remain in the blueprint stage. A detailed geological and aerial survey of Iran will no doubt be carried out in the near future to determine her mineral resources apart from oil.

An objective appraisal of Iran's future, closely linked with the rest of the Middle East, will be incomplete if one did not mention that it was Dr. Musaddiq's efforts that brought improved benefits not only to his country but to all the neighbouring countries — Qator, Sa'udi Arabia and Iraq.

At the present rate of production it is clear that it will take the best part of three years for Iran's oil production to catch up with the 1951 figure of some 31,000,000 tons, and an even longer period will be needed to obtain maximum production. Sa'udi Arabia and Kuwait are now producing each over 40,000,000 tons of oil per year. Iraq's production of oil has multiplied as a result of intense development plans which were carried out during the years of shortage, 1951-54.

(Continued from page 23)

In *Egypt*, according to the Land Reform Law of 1952, land properties in excess of 200 *feddans* (207 acres) are expropriated and redistributed, against payment, to landless cultivators and small farmers. Compensation is paid to the original owners in bonds. The law also regulates the relations between landlords and tenants, and provides for the formation of agricultural co-operatives. In July 1955, some 350,000 acres had been redistributed and 70 new co-operatives established.

In *Iraq*, landless cultivators are allowed to settle on Government-owned land, free of rent, for ten years. Over 1,000,000 acres were thus resettled by 1954 in Dujailah; and similar projects are under way in Mosul and in the Baghdad area, involving 2,000,000 and 240,000 acres respectively.

In *Syria*, waste-land and public domain are distributed to landless cultivators. By the end of 1953, about 62,000 acres had been thus distributed in al-Jazirah alone.

The road ahead

The preceding paragraphs, tables and charts have described a few aspects of the progress achieved in the Arab world in the past decade. Other aspects of this progress include constitutional reform, cultural advancement, progress in methods and means of communication, and the establishment of social security systems and of social welfare centres.

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TENSIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

By MAHMOUD FAWZI BISHR

"Some anti-Arab politicians have always asked cynically how worthy is the Arab support to the West? The answer is to be found in ordinary Western textbooks, which, fortunately, did not fail to show that during their perilous hours in two world wars, the Western Powers had always found the much-needed support of the Arabs. Arab relations with the West suffered and will continue to suffer from the strains of such bitter problems. The West had bargained successfully with the Arabs in the past; the latter had fulfilled their obligations to the letter; it is not impossible for the West to gain its prestige and honour in the area, but it rests on them to show a real change of heart. The burden of proof lies squarely on the West"

The three major international political events of this century decided the face and character of the Middle East of today

Over the last fifty years, the history of the Middle East has been one of unrest, uncertainty, turmoil and uninterrupted tensions. There have been frequent changes of government, of desirable and undesirable character; there have been apparently bright prospects for social and economic recovery which turned into absolute failure or materialized into dismal results compared with what was normally expected; there has been the most unpredictable political behaviour internally and externally with drastic effects on the future of the inhabitants. It would be fruitless to examine in detail any examples or incidents of the above-mentioned character — and they are numerous; it might be of some use to attempt a close examination of the inherent factors underlying these tensions, and to analyse the forces fundamentally and continuously at play which gave Middle Eastern politics the present unstable and distorted picture.

The purpose of this article is not to accuse or to justify the behaviour of either side of the Powers involved, either inside or outside the area. It is mainly to explain how each side sees the other, and to convey a picture of each, showing how the present colours came to be there, how fundamental or how artificial the shades in the picture are. I shall devote this article to the outsiders, especially in the West, and particularly those interested in understanding Middle-Eastern problems. An outright condemnation of the present political attitude of the Middle Eastern peoples would serve no constructive purpose. As in individual relationships, sympathy and understanding are needed between nations. What is alive in the mind of the Middle Easterner today is an extraordinarily strong memory of the recent past. For any comprehensive understanding of the present trends of thought in the Middle East one should examine the powerful drives which influence the political behaviour and motivate the actions and feelings of these nations.

Three major international political events, decided outside the Arab world, were of great consequence in shaping the face and character of the Middle East in this century: the First World War, the Second World War, and thirdly, the creation of Israel. The events of the years 1914-19 were of immense importance to the political development of the Arab World. Arab experiences with the Western Powers during and immediately after these years still colour their present attitude towards the West. By the end of the last century the Middle East had moved to the centre of West European diplomatic activity. When Turkey sided with the Eastern Powers in the First World War, Great Britain departed from her traditional role of backing the Turkish Empire, and together with France embarked on a process of consolidating their hold over the Middle East. The new policy had been

explained to the Arabs as being temporary and until victory had been achieved. Further, there were emphatic promises that Arab aspirations would be fully recognized and realized given their help in throwing off Turkish influence. Aware of the possibilities ahead of them, and with calculated realism and reason, they revolted against Turkish rule, gave all material help within their resources for the Western cause, firmly believing in a better future. However, their earnest hopes were bitterly shattered: promises of independence and unity were violated; their lands were split into meaningless units for ends and purposes which by no means coincided with their own; and were subjected to outside influences which they had to sacrifice a great deal to overthrow. In other words, they had to continue the fight, now against yesterday's partners. It was not a struggle against Western Europe as such; essentially, it was directed against imperialism, whether imposed by Muslim Turks or Christian Europeans. For the first time in their modern history, the Arabs had struck a bargain with the West, the conditions of which they carried out to the full, to be faced afterwards with the most distressing reward of excuses, apologies and sorrow that whatever was promised could never be practically fulfilled.

The rise of nationalism in the Middle East was an indirect corollary in response to Western nationalism which asserted itself in the Middle East in the relationship of superiors to inferiors

For a quarter of a century the area became the scene of continuous struggle between intense nationalism and obstinate imperialism. Like any other form of struggle, the natural products were a complex blend of distrust, suspicion, resentment and fear, which though impatiently ignored and dismissed presently by the West, nevertheless are still lively impulses in the minds of Middle Eastern peoples, and have to be taken into careful consideration. The argument that alongside political misgivings of Western rule in the Middle East there was economic and social development for which the Middle East should be thankful is either wholly irrelevant, or only partly relevant in so far as it accentuated political discontent. Rightly or wrongly, the Middle Easterner's answer is that economic and social development was not the prime objective of Western occupation, it was only incidental to it, and that alongside economic and social development there should have been some kind of human relationship other than suppression and subjection. The essence of the difficulty here is that Western influence was primarily material and was not matched by any cultural or moral relationship on the same scale, intensity, or with the same degree. Cultural relationships were on such a small scale that they changed the attitude towards the Western way of life of only a small minority among the Arabs. In fact,

Middle Eastern nationalism, to put it, briefly, was partly an indirect corollary in response to Western European nationalism which asserted itself in the Middle East in the relationship of superiors to inferiors, and in a manner unlikely to escape the notice or the resentment of a people with minds so receptive as the Middle Easterners.

During the thirties, and before the Second World War, agreements were reached with some Middle Eastern countries (Iraq, Egypt and Transjordan) granting semi-independence. These treaties meant only semi-independence — extreme nationalists would not concede that much — because foreign troops remained, a fact which in turn meant that the power relationship which existed between these countries and Great Britain in the past was still the dominant factor, unlike the view held on the opposite side, that such treaties started a new era of friendship and mutual understanding. However, that degree of independence was granted in good time to ensure decisive support, material and otherwise, of the area in the deadly struggle which was to come against Nazism.

The disillusionment of the Arabs at the hands of the West after the World War II

As the Second World War started, the Arab States were all bound by treaties to Great Britain, and none of these States hesitated to declare their support for the Allied cause against Nazism. During the war, and when the Allied fortunes were at a low ebb, there were abortive and individual attempts to side with the then victorious Hitler; but these as described were adventurous attempts with no backing from the people, and the majority of politicians soon took the lead in giving the Allies all material and moral support within their power. I mention these individual attempts here because when the Arab leaders demanded full independence for the countries after the war, they were argued down by accusations that these countries were defended and saved from Italian and German occupation; some cynics went further to suggest that, given the chance, these countries would have joined Hitler as he seemed temporarily the stronger. The first argument one could only answer by repeating that it was a mutual enemy who was defeated, and that the struggle against this enemy was a common cause to both parties. On this ground, the Arabs were asked for their support, which they offered. They were allies in the same cause, and without declaring war at the start, they were able to offer valuable help in the way of communications, war and civil material for the Allied troops in the area. As the war ended in victory for their allies who fought for freedom, was it not natural for them to share the freedom so dearly won? Further, if there were some leaders in the Arab world who thought it expedient at the time to side with Hitler, it was a point of view which had no popular appeal. Indeed, none of these leaders was able to interrupt the continuity of Arab assistance for the Allies during the war; none of them succeeded in making any of the Arab States another France or another Belgium, which together with all Western Europe were saved from continued German occupation, and all of which shared the fruits of victory at the end.

The test for paying back for what the Arabs did during the war came when Syria and the Lebanon demanded their promised independence. We all know how France answered that demand, and the manner in which she showed her gratitude. Fortunately, however, Great Britain saw justice, together with expediency, in interfering to put an end to French action in Syria, and the two small countries won their full sovereignty. It was then that the Arabs saw that their efforts were not in vain this time; a feeling which unfortunately did not prevail for long. For the same spirit

did not prevail particularly in Egypt and especially over the evacuation of the Suez Canal, and the future of the Sudan. In both Egypt and Iraq a new phase of nationalist struggle opened and continued for a long time, only to arouse old suspicions and to alienate feelings which could have been easily won. Again, excuses were always read for the continued — and unwanted — presence of foreign troops. This time it was the Communist threat. Demands for evacuation were easily explained away as appeals to the irrationals and the mobs to divert attention from corruption and failure to carry out urgently needed economic and social reforms. Yet when the occasion came to overthrow corrupt and inefficient régimes, as happened in Egypt, there was the same reluctance and hesitation, which only fostered the arguments of the extremists as to the real intentions of the Western Powers; such prolonged negotiations as went on in Egypt only helped to confirm the deep-rooted distrust.

The fate of Palestine, the worst of all shocks to the Arabs who sided with the Allies during the two World Wars for their freedom

However, Syria and the Lebanon got their independence, Egypt secured the agreement over Suez, the Sudan is still stumbling in the road to freedom; but worst of all shocks the Arabs had to suffer at the hands of the West was in Palestine. Indeed, the unluckiest of all Arabs were those who happened to inherit the lands of Palestine. Of all the Arabs, those of Palestine together with the Syrians started their own revolt against the Turks for their freedom, and for the Allied cause as early as 1915, before the Arab Revolt proper had started. J. M. N. Jeffries¹ explains in great detail the extent to which the Palestine Arabs suffered from the Turks between 1914-17. "But the Arabs, of course, were differently placed. Their adhesion to the enemies of the Turks gave another character to their sufferings. The repression which they underwent was horrible in method, and upon a scale which, even from the Turkish point of view, was unwise. But in principle, most of it was logical. They constituted, which the Jewish colonies did not, a present or potential peril to the Turks. Conversely, what they suffered entitled them to the sympathy and the gratitude of the Allied Powers. If it was primarily for their own independence that they died on the scaffold or in exile, it was also in the cause of Britain and France, who by every creed of honour were called upon to require them in the hour of victory, let alone to keep the undertakings made to their race." Jeffries has more and specific facts to say about Palestine: "I have just said that their repression was horrible in method. Djemaal (the Turkish commander) used to give execution parties, inviting his friends to be present at the hanging of those found guilty of desertion, of connivance with the Allies, and of other such acts. A number of the victims came from Palestine. Twelve young men were hanged together one day in Jerusalem. The Mufti of Gaza, Ahmed Aref al-Husseini, and his son were both hanged. A section of the other great Arab family of Palestine, the Nashashibi, the Orsini to the Husseini Colonnas, was also hanged. So was Selim Ahmed Abdel Hadi, who went to the scaffold saying, 'My hand does not tremble. Why should it? I die for my country. . . .'"

Three hundred Palestine notables were exiled to Asia Minor and ultimate famine. To describe fully how the Arabs, particularly those in Palestine, believed in the promises of the West, I would quote here how a young lawyer and member of the Palestinian Abdul Hadi family, met his fate. ". . . demanded whether he had any final wishes to express. He asked to be allowed to speak to the people (who had

¹ *Palestine — the Reality*, London, 1939.

assembled in a square in Beyrout watching the hanging) and cried out to them that he was guilty. 'I am guilty,' he said, 'if there is any guilt in loving liberty and in wishing to set my country free. . . . It is intolerable for us Arabs, sprung of one of the most splendid civilizations which the world had known, to think of the humiliated condition to which we have been brought by the barbarous hordes of Anatolia.' The hangman struck the young Arab in the mouth with such force that he bled, but he continued shouting. 'We have done with your slavery. You assassinate us in vain. The cause we serve will outlive us, and deliverance is coming. Long live the Arabs! Long live France, the Arabs' friend.' I have no better comment to make other than to quote Jeffries again: "What would these men have thought, immolating themselves for their country, and for the kindred cause of the Allies whom they saluted at the last, if they had known how in the end their allies were to treat them. It is not a topic upon which to dwell."

The first bitter reward the Allies gave to the Arabs for their sacrifice was the Balfour Declaration

These were the sacrifices the Arabs of Palestine had willingly made for their country and for the Allies. The first bitter reward came with the Balfour Declaration; their tragedy continued from 1917 with no apparent end until the present day. Their story touches every Arab to the depth, and their fate will remain the concern of them all. Of all Arabs, they had to continue their fight against British policy and the (cancer) which was injected in them — namely, Zionism. Why of all places in the world had Palestine to be given to the Zionists? Emptier places existed and needed more their arrogantly professed technical skill. Was it because it was their promised land? Which God would have blessed the return of a million Zionists to Palestine and the plight in the desert of a million destitute Arabs? On which principles of justice and on whose religious illusions would such a human tragedy be justified or explained? Is this the cause of freedom which the West have asked the Arabs to defend? Does the Bible or the Old Testament permit human disaster on this scale? Would the humanitarians of the West feel comfortable about such a Western achievement? What is the creation of Israel other than these tragic and unanswerable questions? And today, with the proposals for the return to United Nations partition plans, we still hear voices of sympathy as to how heartbreaking it would be for Mr. Ben Gurion to part with the Negeb. How about the destitute thousands of Arab women and children in the barren desert for over eight years? Is it because they are not as sophisticatedly Westernized as Mr. Ben Gurion? Was it not Europe, whether West or East, which instituted the Jewish Ghetto amid its lands? Why should it be the Arabs of Palestine who pay for European follies? The Palestine problem was created by the West; the Palestine tragedy was brought about by the West, and it is on their shoulders that it rests. It is they who have to provide the solution. To the Arabs all over the Middle East, it is nothing but injustice, inhumanity and barbarism which falls short only of Nazism at its worst. Whatever the reasons for British promises to the Zionists, whatever the directives of American party politics, Palestine and the fate of the Arabs in the desert is their own doing. If they cannot do justice in this case, it is inconceivable that any of the Arab nations will wholeheartedly believe in any Western cause, however true and real it may be. The Communists may constitute a far larger danger; but this does not change the present reality in Palestine which the West has brought about. Written pacts imposed upon the people of the area are of little value when

such a tragic problem is not adequately and justly solved. The Arabs might in time get over what happened in the past, but is it possible to ask them to forget a reality out there? A reality at their doorstep, a reality living in hundreds and thousands of homeless refugees.

The Arabs with the tragedy of Palestine before their eyes see the danger ahead

Palestine and its tragedy brings us to talk about the present tension in the Middle East. With the exception of Iraq, all Arab countries have direct frontiers with the Zionists in Palestine. Iraq is the only Arab country to join the present Western defence system in the Middle East, and that did not prevent her leaders from offering their military help against aggression by the Zionists. All other Arab countries are rightly more concerned with the direct threat from Zionism which comes to them before Communism. It was that threat, together with the unbalanced balance of military power in the Middle East, maintained by the West, which pushed Egypt into the recent arms deal. The Zionists in occupation of Palestine had arrogantly committed aggression all along the frontiers, aggression which, when so flagrant, could only arouse spoken condemnation in the West. There was a tripartite declaration to maintain a balance in the arms supplied to both sides, but on what basis it is not clear. Did it mean that if the Zionists were delivered a twin-engined aircraft Egypt would be sold an engine, Iraq another and Syria one wing? What was the ratio of such a balance? And how, after five years passing on such a declaration, that it would be widely mentioned in all reliable Western newspapers that the military strength of the Zionists in occupation of Palestine is far superior to that of all the Arabs combined? Was that the balance the West intended to maintain? If that was acceptable to the West, it was hardly so to Egypt, which is the Arab country with the largest burden to bear in the struggle against Zionism.

The Arabs' Nazism is Zionism. It is not the same idea of the superiority of a race, only cunningly clothed in a religious cloak? Is it different as a political movement from Nazism when it pursued its ruthless extermination of Arab communities and villages in Palestine? Was that in any way different from Nazi persecution of Poles, or Czechs or Slavs? It is against such a background, and with such realities in mind, that Egypt and the rest of the Arab countries have to seek arms to defend themselves. Visitors to Palestine today repeatedly emphasize the rate of agricultural and industrial development carried out by the Zionists. But is ruthless efficiency the ultimate end of Western civilization? And if efficiency was the only measure of human progress, why did the world have to fight efficient Nazism or, indeed, Communism? And who is paying for such economic progress? Is it not the United States? There is a great responsibility on Arab leaders now to put their peoples on such military preparedness so as to stop the Zionists from their Nazi-like expansionist dreams which started with part of Palestine and, in no time, and with American support, went on expanding by the massacre of Deir Yasin, by driving the Arab population from Lydda and Ramle, from Beersheba, Galilee and the Jerusalem corridor; and later developed such liking and devotion to the Negeb. It is the duty of Arab leaders to seek assistance and help wherever they can get it.

America's belief in economic aid to undeveloped countries is not enough to ease the Middle East tensions

Some cynics again advance the old argument that the present feelings in the Arab States against Zionism are

aroused to divert attention from the failure of these States to effect economic and social reforms much needed at home. As mentioned earlier, these arguments have always proved false, and it is up to those cynics to avoid facing the realities of the situation. Secondly, all the Arab States without exception have embarked on ambitious schemes of industrialization and social advancement. Egypt, in the leadership of such a struggle against Zionism, has now, under the present régime, undergone a tremendous economic development with large-scale schemes, vigorously taken up with great expectations for speedy and successful results. The question here is: could one argue rationally against those leaders' efforts to survive such an eminent threat from a greedy, cunning and ambitious political movement as Zionism? Could the Arabs be rationally asked to join a cause with the West, who created, adopted and still maintains such an illegitimate child? We often hear of Zionism as an outpost of Western culture in the Middle East. Is the price the Arabs paid for this outpost different in any character or extent from that paid by Poland or Czechoslovakia for having Communist culture in their midst? Is the rest of the world going to pay such a high price to have similar outposts of Western culture?

* * *

This is the picture of the Middle East — a picture of bitter experience, past and present; experiences which created an attitude of mind torn between forces of complex human motives, ethnic loyalties, cultural traditions, social rivalries and fears, all of which are of greater importance than purely military or purely economic forces. Involved in these experiences are problems of human relationships with all their complexities and difficulties which need a solution on a scale and of a character clearer and deeper than pragmatic, business-like conceptions. The offer of economic help alone, though much needed, is not enough. The style of American thinking, the belief in the identity between virtue and prosperity, has often resulted, to the surprise of Americans, in exactly an opposite direction. The offer of economic aid to the poor communities of Asia is often met with resentment and envy, and sometimes described as a sign of American imperialism and injustice.

Even with the advanced European communities, the Americans encounter the same dilemma, due to the different sources of political beliefs. They had on many occasions to face the European charge that they were in this respect nearer to the Communist Russians than to the cultured Europeans. For instance, the Americans sought happiness in prosperity, and prosperity in technical efficiency which the Europeans, particularly France, cynically described as an expression of coca-colonialism. As far as the Middle East is concerned, from the American point of view, it had to fit in some sort of pact to complete the process of containing Communism. This American view is taking a kind of moral crusade against tyranny and aggression in international life. During the Presidential election of 1952 this feeling was fully expressed by General Eisenhower when he announced that his campaign would be conducted as "a great crusade for freedom in America and freedom in the world". In the same campaign Mr. Dulles said: "There is a moral or natural law not made by man which determines right and wrong, and in the long run only those who conform to that law will escape disaster". Would Mr. Dulles rationally expect the Arabs to believe in such moral and divine doctrines professed by the

United States after their disastrous support to the Zionists with ensuing injustices inflicted on their fellow Arabs in Palestine? The Americans are urging both parties to agree to some peaceful settlement in the area. Sir Anthony Eden took the initiative for objective mediation in his Guildhall speech in November 1955; how did both parties react to it? The speech had a good reception in Arab quarters. As to Israel, there was the arrogant outright condemnation, and Mr. Sharett publicly "deplored" the speech. May the Arabs remind their American friends, in their 'zealous support for Zionism and for the kind of alleged democratic life they established in Palestine, of what the Anglo-Jewish Association had to say in *The Times*, 24th May 1917, of Zionism: "Zionism was incompatible with the religious basis of Jewry and that it introduced the concept of a secular Jewish nationality, recruited on some loose and obscure principles of rare and of ethnographic peculiarity. But this would not be Jewish in any spiritual sense, and its establishment in Palestine would be a denial of all the ideals and hopes by which the survival of Jewish life in that country commends itself to the Jewish conscience and to Jewish sympathy. On these grounds the Conjoint Committee of the Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association deprecates most earnestly the national proposals of the Zionists".

A more striking exposition of what Zionism meant in Palestine was predicted during the First World War by Mayor Sulzberger, former President of the Court of Common Pleas in Pennsylvania: "Democracy that those who live in a country shall select their rulers and shall preserve their powers. Given these principles, a Convention of Zionists looking to the government of people who are in Palestine would be in contravention of the plainest principles of democracy. It can have no practical meaning unless its intent is to overthrow the people who are in Palestine and to deprive them of the right of self-government by substituting the will of persons outside, who may or may not ever see Palestine." These two quotations among many need no comment.

If the West is interested in winning the friendship of the fifty million Arabs, a just and equitable solution of the Palestine tragedy is a prerequisite

The Arab States need the economic and technical help of the West. They have embarked on vigorous policies of social and economic reforms and in fields of education, health, agriculture and industry. They are transforming the face of the deserts they inhabit, but together with their struggle for economic and social advancement, they await a just and equitable solution to the Palestine tragedy. If the West is interested in winning the friendship of fifty million people, with their possibilities and energies, it is not too late to take the initiative, and the West has a great deal to offer. Some anti-Arab politicians have always asked cynically how worthy is the Arab support to the West? The answer is to be found in ordinary Western textbooks, which, fortunately, did not fail to show that during their perilous hours in two world wars, the Western Powers had always found the much-needed support of the Arabs. Arab relations with the West suffered and will continue to suffer from the strains of such bitter problems. The West had bargained successfully with the Arabs in the past; the latter had fulfilled their obligations to the letter; it is not impossible for the West to gain its prestige and honour in the area, but it rests on them to show a real change of heart. The burden of proof lies squarely on the West.

DOCUMENTATION :

PAKISTAN

The All-Parties Kashmir Conference at Karachi

The Prime Minister of Pakistan's Speech

The Parties that took part in the Conference

The following communities of Pakistan were represented at the All-Parties Kashmir Conference which concluded in Karachi on 29th November 1955: Muslim, Caste Hindu, Scheduled Caste Hindu, Christian, Buddhist, Parsi and Adibasi.

The Buddhist community of Pakistan is specially interested in the affairs of Kashmir because of the Buddhist population of Ladakh. It is not generally known that there are far more Buddhists in Pakistan than in India.

Political parties

Besides all the political parties of Azad Kashmir, the following political parties participated in the Conference:

The Muslim League; the United Front — including the Krishak Sramik Party, the Ganatantri Dal; the United Progressive Party and the Nizam-e-Islam Party; the Awami League; Jama'at-e-Islami; the Islam League; Jami'at-ul-ulema-e-Pakistan; Jami'at-ul-'Ulema-e-Islam; the Pakistan National Congress; the Scheduled Castes Federation and the Azad Pakistan Party.

Other organizations

The All-Pakistan Confederation of Labour, the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industries of Pakistan and the Jamiat-ul-Massalmanani Junagadh were also represented.

The All-Parties Kashmir Conference in Karachi unanimously passed on 28th November 1955 the following review of significant economic and other developments in different aspects of Turkey's national life.

PART A.

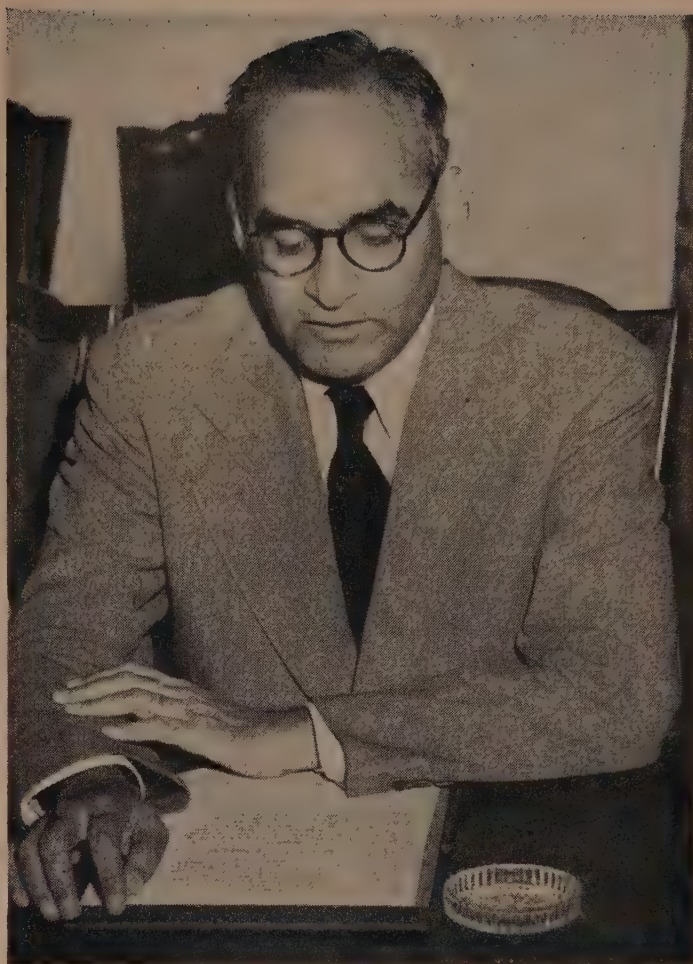
Whereas self-determination is the inalienable right of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, and

Whereas the Pakistan Government and the Government of India have entered into an International Agreement by accepting the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan dated 13th August 1948 and 5th January 1949, which were endorsed by the Security Council undertaking to decide the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan by the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite, and,

Whereas during the last seven years that solemn undertaking has not been honoured because of the intransigence of the Government of India which has persistently rejected every one of the proposals of the Security Council and its several representatives as also those of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers for creating conditions essential to the holding of a free and impartial plebiscite in the State, and,

Whereas the continued occupation of Jammu and Kashmir State by India is devoid of all legal and moral basis, and,

Whereas the people of Indian-occupied Kashmir are subjected to all kinds of repression and are denied freedom of expression and other human rights and the leaders and members of the Plebiscite Front and of other political organizations are being arrested wholesale and being detained in prison without trial because of their demand for a plebiscite, and,



The Honourable Mr. Muhammad 'Ali,
Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Whereas the inordinate delay and continuous hindrances in holding the plebiscite are causing deep indignation and resentment among the people of Kashmir and Pakistan and are doing irreparable damage to relations between India and Pakistan, a situation has arisen which threatens the peace not only in Asia but of the entire world;

Now, therefore, this All-Parties Conference on Kashmir unanimously

Strongly condemns the intransigent attitude adopted by India during the last seven years with a view to depriving the people of the State of the right to self-determination acknowledged by the Security Council resolutions mentioned above;

Expresses its profound disappointment at the failure of the Security Council to enforce its decisions regarding a plebiscite and deplores the weak policy adopted by it in acquiescing in the evasive tactics adopted by India to wriggle out of her international commitments in that behalf;

Pays homage to those martyrs who have lost their lives in the struggle for the liberation of their homeland and deeply sympathises with all those who have suffered and are suffering in this great cause;

Wholeheartedly lends its unstinted support to the Kashmir Liberation Movement being convinced that the Kashmir question is truly a national one to which all other considerations must be subordinated and for the solution of which the nation will consider no sacrifice too great;

Resolves that all efforts which are being made to secure

for the people of the State the right to self-determination should be intensified and integrated on a national basis;

Reaffirms the irrevocable determination of the Pakistan people to secure for the people of Jammu and Kashmir the right of self-determination at all costs and calls upon the Pakistan Government urgently to take in the light of the discussions that have taken place in this conference all possible steps that are necessary to give effect to the national determination and empowers the President of the Conference to set up a Committee to advise the Pakistan Government in this behalf;

Urges the Pakistan Government to disseminate in all countries abroad correct information concerning the issues involved in the Kashmir dispute and happenings inside Indian-occupied Kashmir in order to arouse the conscience of the world against the grave injustice that is being done to the people of Jammu and Kashmir in depriving them of their right to self-determination;

Finally, while appreciating the action of the Pakistan Prime Minister in convening this Conference and giving an opportunity to leaders of all communities, important political parties and institutions to consider this momentous national issue, *resolves* that similar conferences be called from time to time to take stock of the situation in regard to its solution.

PART B.

The All-Parties Conference further unanimously recommends that the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan make provision in the Constitution that when the people of Jammu and Kashmir State have decided to accede to Pakistan, the relationship between Pakistan and the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be determined in accordance with the wishes of the State's people.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan's speech

Addressing the All-Parties Conference on Kashmir in Karachi on 26th November 1955, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Muhammad 'Ali, in summing up the present position, said, "India, Pakistan and the Security Council agreed seven years ago that the accession of the Jammu and Kashmir State to India or Pakistan should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State as freely expressed through a plebiscite, but as yet no plebiscite has been held. India maintains a vast army in the State. Every proposal for the reduction of the army so that the people's vote may be free has been rejected by India. She has thus barred the holding of the plebiscite."

Mr. Muhammad 'Ali sympathized with the Kashmiris who live in an Indian prison-house in terror and travail, and said: "In the Kashmiris' struggle for self-determination Pakistanis are fully behind them. However long and arduous the struggle may be, we shall not fail them. Everything we hold dear — our faith, our honour, our lives — are dedicated to the fulfilment of this pledge."

Tracing the history of the Kashmir dispute, the Prime Minister said: "Its solution is vital to preserve peace and stability in the region, to maintain co-operative relations between India and Pakistan, and to decide the fate of four million Kashmiris and indeed many more millions in the region. The solution is extremely simple, in view of the pledges given by both India and Pakistan."

He recalled Earl Mountbatten's advice given to the States with the approval of the Indian Congress, that "the rulers should pay due regard to the geographic location of the States and the wishes of their people. This advice made the accession of Kashmir to Pakistan natural. But India has been following varying policies. Junagadh's accession to Pakistan was considered an encroachment on Indian sovereignty and territory, and it was claimed that the Muslim ruler could not speak for the non-Muslim population. So the Indian Army occupied Junagadh. In the case of Hyderabad, India maintained that the State with a Hindu majority must accede to India even if the Muslim ruler did not want it. In the case of Kashmir, all these professions were abandoned. During the currency of the Standstill Agreement which the Maharaja of Kashmir signed with Pakistan on 15th August 1947, India accepted the Maharaja's offer of accession and flew Indian forces to subjugate the Muslim population. However, India categorically stated on 27th October 1947 that the question of the State's accession would be settled by reference to the people. The reference is yet to take place. India then referred the dispute to the United Nations. An International Agreement between Pakistan and India was brought about which provides for the withdrawal of the Pakistan troops simultaneously with the withdrawal of the bulk of the Indian forces from the State. Thereafter, a plebiscite

administrator is to be appointed to conduct the plebiscite to decide accession to India or Pakistan. He is to have full powers, including the power of disposal of the remaining Indian and State armed forces, so that the people may vote freely without fear of coercion. Up to the present Indian intransigence has barred any progress in the withdrawal of troops. In July 1950 Sir Owen Dixon proposed that the plebiscite should be confined to the Kashmir Valley and some adjacent territories and the remainder be partitioned between India and Pakistan. India repudiated the proposal. Sir Owen Dixon eventually concluded that India had no intention whatever of allowing a free expression of the people's will in any part of the State under her control. Dr. Graham's subsequent attempts to secure Indian agreement on demilitarization also failed. In 1953, on Indian suggestion, direct negotiations to settle the dispute were taken up by Indian and Pakistan Prime Ministers. Faith in the free and impartial plebiscite in the entire State as providing the solution of the Kashmir dispute was reaffirmed, but then extraneous matters were brought in by the Indian Prime Minister. He wanted the plebiscite administrator to be changed, the question of accession to be decided after the result of the plebiscite was known in the light of geographic, economic and other considerations and that the Kashmir refugees now in Pakistan should not be allowed to vote. He objected to the United States' military assistance to Pakistan, which is totally irrelevant."

Referring to the Indian Home Minister's statement that Pakistan had failed to agree to reasonable conditions in regard to the plebiscite in Kashmir, M. Muhammad 'Ali said: "Lack of agreement on the reduction of forces in the State has held up the plebiscite. Facts will show where responsibility lies."

"First. In March 1949 the United Nations Commission convened a Joint Committee of India and Pakistan representatives, which agreed that both India and Pakistan would submit plans for the withdrawal of forces to this committee. Pakistan did so: India first asked for time and later refused to honour the agreement."

"Second. The United Nations Commission concluded that India was unprepared to withdraw the bulk of her forces from Kashmir and was seeking cover for refusal by misinterpreting the Commission's resolutions. It proposed that differences arising from interpretation of the two resolutions which constitute the International Agreement on Kashmir should be submitted to arbitration by Admiral Nimitz. The proposal was endorsed by a personal appeal from President Truman and Mr. Attlee, then Prime Minister of Britain, in August 1949. Pakistan accepted it: India rejected it."

"Third. In December 1945 the President of the Security Council, General MacNaughton, formulated certain proposals for demilitarization. Pakistan accepted: India rejected them."

"Fourth. In March 1950 the Security Council appointed Sir Owen Dixon to bring about demilitarization of the State within five months. He formulated plans in July 1950 which he discussed with the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan. Pakistan accepted: India rejected them."

"Fifth. In January 1951 the Commonwealth Prime Ministers lent their good offices to settle this dispute. They considered the removal or disbandment of all troops of both India and Pakistan in Kashmir essential to securing freedom of plebiscite vote and suggested any one of the following to provide for the security of the State: Commonwealth Force to be provided by Australia and New Zealand; or joint force of India and Pakistan; or force to be locally raised in the State by the plebiscite administrator. Each of these proposals was accepted by Pakistan but rejected by India."

"Sixth. In March 1951, Ambassador Muniz of Brazil, President of the Security Council, suggested that both India and Pakistan agree to arbitration on all points of difference arising from interpretation of the two United Nations Commissions' resolutions. Pakistan accepted this proposal; India rejected it."

"Seventh. In March 1951 the Security Council in a resolution made a similar proposal. Pakistan accepted the resolution; India again rejected it."

"Eighth. Subsequently, between March 1951 and December 1952, Dr. Graham put forward a number of proposals on the subject of demilitarization. Pakistan accepted but India rejected them."

"Ninth. In December 1952 the Security Council urged the Governments of India and Pakistan to agree that the Pakistan armed forces in the State should be reduced to between three thousand and six thousand, and Indian forces to between twelve thousand and eighteen thousand. Pakistan accepted but India rejected this resolution."

"In the light of the foregoing, the Indian spokesman's

charge that Pakistan was preventing the holding of the plebiscite is clearly unjust and untrue. On the other hand, it is clear beyond doubt that the responsibility for preventing the plebiscite from being held is wholly that of India."

Referring to the Indian assertion that no decision concerning the disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir could be taken by India without the consent of the State Government, and that the State's Constituent Assembly had voted for accession to India, Mr. Muhammad Ali said: "These are actions taken unilaterally by India herself. That cannot alter the basic fact that India is bound under the International Agreement to decide the question of accession of Kashmir through a free plebiscite. Nor can they possibly take away from Kashmiris the right of self-determination. It must be remembered that there are three parties to this Agreement: Pakistan, the Security Council and India. Any unilateral action taken by India or by any subordinate body set up under Indian authority cannot alter commitments India has freely made under the International Agreement in regard to Kashmir."

"Accession to India by the so-called Constituent Assembly is wholly devoid of moral basis or legal effect. The Indian representative categorically assured the Security Council that it was not meant 'to come in the way' of the Security Council, and that while the Assembly might express an opinion on the question of accession, it can take no decision on it. Moreover, it does not represent substantial State territory nor under Indian occupation. But let that pass. What is the nature of this so-called constitution-making body? The elections were no elections at all. Its seventy-five members, nominated at India's behest, were declared elected unopposed. To call such an assembly representative of Kashmiris would be a mockery of democracy. To claim that it was competent to decide the fate of the State would be fantastic."

"Even with the assembly which consisted wholly of men nominated by India's agents, things did not proceed entirely according to plan. Shaikh Abdullah, the State's Prime Minister, began to get progressively disillusioned about India's designs. In a public speech he described Indian arguments in favour of full application of the Indian Constitution to Kashmir as 'unrealistic, childish and savouring of lunacy'. This was in April 1952. By August 1953 the gulf between his and Indian views had become so wide that it had become dangerous to let him stay at large. On the 9th August 1953 Abdullah, whom India had presented as the true spokesman of Kashmiris, was denounced, dismissed and clapped in jail. In his place Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad was installed as Prime Minister, with the help of the Indian Army of occupation. The so-called Constituent Assembly was persuaded to agree to accede to India."

"Developments inside Indian-occupied Kashmir, with the obvious complicity of India, do not help to reinforce faith in Indian professions that India means to abide by her international commitments in regard to Kashmir. Civil liberties are

dead. Abdullah was arrested and jailed because he began to show signs of refusing to toe the Indian line on the question of a plebiscite. He has been in jail for over two years without any trial. Many of his compatriots have also been similarly incarcerated. Today a reign of terror prevails in Kashmir. Whoever dares openly to ask for a plebiscite to decide the question of accession is accused of treason and imprisoned. A number of prominent Kashmir leaders have recently been arrested on this ground."

"India is mistaken if she thinks that by such measures she will succeed in suppressing the demand for a plebiscite or scotching the movement for liberation from the Indian yoke. The Indian-occupied Kashmir today is virtually an armed camp with ninety thousand Indian soldiers. For every thirty-two persons in Indian-occupied territory there is one Indian soldier, or one soldier for every twelve male adults. There is, besides, the State militia, and that notorious oppressive instrument called the peace brigade. Nevertheless, the strong resistance movement which must command the admiration of the world, continues to thrive in the State. Of late this movement has been gaining rapidly in strength, and recent wholesale arrests are an indication that the Bakshi Government is seized with panic."

"The Indian action in respect of Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir is part of the same pattern. It is wholly devoid of any moral basis. It is based solely on the familiar imperialistic rule — might is right."

"The Indian Prime Minister has often attacked colonialism, and yet the situation in Kashmir today is clearly a manifestation of colonialism. India has sedulously preached to the world the principle of self-determination but scrupulously refrained from practising it herself. All the Kashmiris ask is that India abide by her international commitments and let them decide the question of accession by means of a fair and impartial plebiscite. All that Pakistan wants is that the Kashmiris should freely exercise their choice in respect of the accession. India, Pakistan and the Security Council are committed to it. Let that commitment be fulfilled."

"It is unfortunate that this dispute should have become a serious potential threat to world peace. We have shown the utmost patience. Every effort to break the deadlock by impartial mediators has been defeated by Indian intransigence. We are prepared to explore and exhaust all other possibilities of a peaceful settlement. I must warn that as time passes and this dispute remains unresolved, frustrations and bitterness will grow among Kashmiris and Pakistanis. It is of the utmost importance that this dispute is resolved before this frustration and bitterness have so seized the minds of the people that they turn to desperate measures. It behoves India and Pakistan and all the countries interested in the promotion of peace and the welfare of this region to see that a just settlement of this dispute is reached without further delay."

TURKEY

The President of Turkey on the Domestic and Economic Progress of his Country

The major portion of President Jalal Bayar's speech on re-opening of the second session of the Tenth Turkish Grand National Assembly on 1st November 1955 was devoted to economic and other developments in different aspects of Turkey's national life.

Brief statistical excerpts from his comprehensive and detailed statement are given below:

Turkey's population according to provisional returns of the general census held on 23rd October 1955 now stands at 24,109,641, an increase of 3,162,453 since 1950. This represents an average annual increase of 632,491 or 30 per thousand, a world record.

Education was allocated nearly \$133 million in the budget for 1955, \$69.6 million more than the 1950 figure of \$63.2 million. 1,877,000 pupils attended primary school in the 1954/55 scholastic year. Three new institutions were added in 1955 to the number of colleges where close to 18,000 are being trained to become primary school teachers and graduated at an average

rate of 3,500 per year. Government grants to universities is 137% higher than in 1950. First year courses are already under way at the Schools of Agriculture and of Medicine at the new Ege University in Izmir; courses will begin in 1958 at the new Atatürk University in eastern Turkey; and work is progressing on the Technical University to be opened at Trabzon on Turkey's Black Sea coastline.

Agricultural credits stood at over \$528 million in 1954, a more than four-fold increase in five years. Agricultural income almost doubled from the 1949 figure of \$1 billion 339 million to \$2 billion 600 million in 1953. The use of artificial fertilizers has increased fourteen-fold from 45,000 tons in 1951 to the current total of 600,000 tons. The acreage planted to tea, a comparatively new venture, went up from 3,000 hectares in 1950 to 7,000 hectares in 1955.

Land distribution in 1954 to farmers who had none of their own totalled 1,558,900 hectares to 198,700 families in 2,423 communities. Another 67,300 hectares of farming and pasture land was distributed to 10,500 families in 710 villages in the first



*The President of the Republic of Turkey,
Mr. Jalal Bayar*

nine months of 1955. It is estimated that a further 200,000 hectares will have been distributed by the end of the year.

Public Works allocations in 1955 went over the \$236 million mark, compared to \$53 million in the 1950 budget. Stabilized highways added up to 16,778 miles at the end of 1954, as against 9,320 miles in 1950. 885 new bridges totalling 150,915 ft. in length have been built since 1950. Passenger transportation on Turkish highways has increased sixfold, and freight haulage threefold, while average speed has been doubled, and costs more than halved.

Budgetary allocations for roads and highways have totalled \$403 million in four years. 808 miles of new railroad track is being built at a cost of over \$206 million of which \$41 million calls for financing in foreign currency.

Irrigation has been extended to another 69,000 hectares since 1950; 144,000 hectares have been given protection against periodic flood damage; 80,000 hectares of swampland have been drained and reclaimed in the same period.

Electric power will be close to 4 billion kilowatt hours when the new dams and hydro-electric and thermic power plants go into operation, a huge increase over the capacity of 800 million kilowatt hours prior to 1950.

State budgetary expenditure for the 1955 fiscal year was estimated at over \$1 billion, nearly double the 1950 figure of \$531 million. State revenues in the 1955 budget stood at \$996 million, as against \$464 million in 1950. Revenue in the first seven-month March-September period of fiscal year 1955 totalled \$562 million, an increase of more than \$99 million over the figure for the corresponding period in 1954, and an imposing \$290 million more than in 1950.

Foreign investors have filed 219 applications to bring in private capital to establish new industries in Turkey; the amount involved is over \$82 million. 140 applications totalling \$43 million have been approved, nine others involving another \$12 million are being processed. With the addition of the capital subscribed to these enterprises by domestic investors, investments in the new installations total \$137 million for new production facilities.

Sugar production will total 300,000 tons in 1955, thanks to three new factories completed this year. The addition of four other factories to be opened next year is expected to boost production to over 735,000 tons in 1956.

Cement consumption exceeded 1,600,000 tons in 1954, compared to 417,000 tons in 1950. Three new factories are scheduled to begin production before the end of 1955, 10 others are scheduled for 1957, and another 8 for subsequent years. Production (which stood at 395,000 tons in 1950) will

reach 1,000,000 tons in 1955, 1,805 million tons in 1956, and 2,830 million tons in 1957.

Paper production has been increased 140 per cent since 1950.

Exports had risen 2,155,000 tons in 1954, an increase of 200 per cent over the 1950 figure of 985,000 tons.

Imports totalled 2,572,000 tons in 1954, or 60 per cent more than the 1,488,000 tons recorded in 1950.

Turkish airlines carried 70 per cent more passengers, and 50 per cent more freight, compared to 1950.

Merchant marine tonnage is headed for the 702,000-ton mark, compared to 467,000 tons in 1950.

Foreign Affairs — relations of Turkey with the Muslim world

"I am now going to dwell on our foreign policy. There are no signs that the dangers to which the freedom and peace front is exposed are in any way diminishing since last year. The peace offensive which began some time ago is, however, gradually developing, and talks between the leaders of the two fronts are becoming more frequent than ever. We hope that the two sides will reach an agreement at the Geneva Conference which will build general security on real and sound foundations. Unfortunately no positive result has so far been obtained from these talks, nor have we come across any signs that those who harbour aggressive plans have given up their ambitions. Those countries have neither accepted the restriction of arms which will eventually make the control of such arms possible, nor have they reduced the forces they have concentrated round the peace front. On the contrary, we are receiving information that these countries are constantly increasing their arms, and we observe political manifestations and acts in our area which do not in any way reassure or satisfy us.

"The duty that faces every nation in such circumstances is, far from relaxing its efforts on the defence fronts to which it belongs, to reinforce those fronts with strength and solidarity by every means until the peace offensive is sincerely in operation. In order to carry out this consideration our nation has made efforts to establish closer co-operation with our neighbours to secure mutual defence. The Baghdad Pact is the greatest result of the efforts of Turkey and her neighbours and friends have made in this direction. I need not explain how important a stage was the friendly co-operation agreement we signed with Pakistan in 1954 as far as the conclusion of the Baghdad Pact is concerned.

"The great determination shown by Iraq in signing the Baghdad Pact has secured for this valuable ally of ours a prominent position in the family of peace-loving nations. Turkey and Iraq have signed this pact in order to offset the great danger to which they too are exposed, like all other peace-loving nations. This pact aims solely at resisting any probable aggression. It is not directed against any country in this region, above all, the Arab League. We trust that this fact is gradually being comprehended. The rapid expansion of this pact is the best proof of its value and importance.

"The pact was scarcely a year old when our great friend and ally Britain joined it. Pakistan, whose role and importance in international politics are growing remarkably rapidly, followed in signing the pact. After this our neighbour Iran, one of the most distinguished countries in our region, joined in signing the pact. Each of these participations is of great importance from various aspects. With Iran's participation in this pact a peace front known as the southern defence line has been established, and through Turkey and Pakistan NATO has been linked with SEATO. I must mention with gratitude that since the day the pact came into being it has enjoyed the constant support and encouragement of our great friend and ally the United States of America. We regard the subsequent confirmation of this support and interest on the occasion of Iran's participation in the pact as very auspicious and encouraging. With the conclusion of the Baghdad Pact our country has simultaneously become a member of the three organizations which cherish the peace, security, stability and elevation of the three regions, the organizations for Western Europe, the Balkans and the Middle East, which are the continuation of one another. Turkey, which is tied to each of these organizations with great loyalty, is determined to do all she can for the establishment of closer co-operation among all these three organizations based on the principle of solidarity.

"... I do not wish to embark here on an analysis of the Cyprus question, over which Turkish public opinion has shown great concern and feeling. Turkey's position was revealed at the London conference and at the United Nations. As you know, the United Nations refused to include the matter in its agenda.

"Turkey's relations with all her allies continue to be gratifying. Turkey feels additional pleasure at having concluded

a pact for the second time with Britain, who is a member of NATO, on the occasion of the Baghdad Pact. Our present co-operation with our great friend and ally the United States registers developments daily in fresh fields. As you know, we signed an agreement with the United States on 3rd May 1955 for the peaceful use of atomic energy. Thanks to our co-operation with the United States we are looking forward to great developments in the field of atomic energy in our country on the basis of this agreement.

"Another noteworthy event in our foreign policy was our participation in the Asian-African conference at Bandung. We were very happy to see at this conference how vigilant most of the Asian and African countries are towards the dangers facing the world.

"During the past year both the Prime Minister and myself had the opportunity of visiting many friendly countries, and the heads and statesmen of many friendly countries visited Turkey in return. I preserve with much pleasure the valuable memory of my official visit to Pakistan last February. The feelings of respect and confidence of that country towards us and its determination and ability to take decisions are noteworthy. Ghulam Muhammad was then performing the duties of Governor-General with great shrewdness. It was a great honour for me to meet and get to know the farsighted and worthy personality who replaced that great statesman, who had to retire on account of ill-health.

"I had the honour of paying an official visit to Iraq in the same month of February after my visit to Pakistan. The Baghdad Pact was signed then. It has thus become possible to address these worthy neighbours of ours not only as brothers but also as allies. The return visit paid to our country by His Majesty the King of Iraq and His Royal Highness the Crown Prince has left us with very valuable and unforgettable memories. These mutual visits, including the auspicious visit of our Prime Minister to Baghdad, constitute a stirring reply to those who desire to see misunderstanding always existing

between ourselves and the Arab world. As you will recall, my next official visit was to the Lebanon; before that the President of the Lebanon had honoured our country and seen for himself how much and how sincerely the Turks love the Lebanon and, in the person of the Lebanon, the Arab world. The same sincere and warm feelings were shown to me in the Lebanon.

"Only a short time has elapsed since my return from my visit to our great and very ancient friend Iran. As I know that this visit was watched with deep interest in our country, I do not feel it necessary to remind you of the great atmosphere of sincerity, friendship and confidence in which this very recent event took place. During my stay there I observed a determination for recovery and feelings of affection and confidence. When I was in Teheran I invited the Shah, the auspicious successor in every respect of the great Pahlavi, to make an official visit to our country. The invitation was graciously accepted. The happiness I shall feel at meeting His Majesty again in our country will be great. We have started developing our economic relations with Iran. Our primary aim will be to increase our means of communication by land and sea, and to place the port of Iskenderun at Iran's service.

"In a few days I am going to pay an official visit to Jordan. I shall be pleased to see His Majesty King Hussein, who visited our country last year, among his noble people, and to work for the consolidation of the ties of friendship and fraternity between the two countries, which understand each other well.

"We were also pleased by the visit paid us by Sardar Na'im Khan, the deputy Premier and Foreign Minister of friendly and fraternal Afghanistan. I wish to state here that we are deeply grieved by the present differences between Afghanistan and Pakistan, both of whom are our friends and brothers. It is as much in the interests of these two countries, which are linked together by many material and moral ties, to establish relations on the principles of friendship and fraternity as it is in those of all the other nations in the region. . . ."

SA'UDI ARABIA

The Buraimi Dispute

An Explanatory Statement by the Sa'udi Arabian Embassy, London

The dispute between Sa'udi Arabia and the British Government over the Buraimi Oasis has been the subject of many inaccurate and, in some cases, distorted reports. The Sa'udi Arabian Embassy, London, issued on the 25th November 1955 the following explanatory statement clarifying the facts of this case:

The Buraimi Oasis is the centre of a triangular area (about 1,000 square miles) known as the Buraimi Area, which forms an integral part of South-East Sa'udi Arabia. It comprises, apart from the oasis itself, eight villages and a number of plantations.

It may be helpful in this connection to give an historical sketch of Sa'udi connection with this part of the country.

This area has formed an integral part of Sa'udi Arabia, and has been subject to uninterrupted Sa'udi administration ever since 1793. The people never ceased to owe allegiance to His Majesty the King of Sa'udi Arabia. The first Sa'udi Governor of the area, Ibrahim Ibn Sulayman Ibn Ofaysan, was sent there by H.M. the Imam 'Abd al-'Aziz, in 1795.

Evidence of this early administration of the area by Sa'udi Arabia can be found in the 1808 records of British India.

Further evidence of this early Sa'udi administration and sovereignty is borne by a treaty concluded in 1833, between the Sa'udi Arabian Government and the then Sultan of Muscat, Said Ibn Sultan. Under that said treaty the Sultan of Muscat acknowledged the fact that Buraimi and other vast areas surrounding it were Sa'udi territory.

At no time since 1795 has Sa'udi sovereignty over the area been questioned or disputed, and successive kings of Sa'udi Arabia always took great interest in its administration. Thus in



His Majesty King Sa'ud I

1853, the Imam Faisal Ibn Turki, the then ruling sovereign, appointed his son 'Abdullah as Governor of the area, the latter taking residence in Buraimi itself, which was, and still is, the administrative centre of that area.

In the treaty of Defence and Alliance of 1853, between Sa'udi Arabia and Muscat, it was again stated that Buraimi and its hinterland were an integral part of the Sa'udi kingdom.

"Evidence, from the sources which today dispute Sa'udi sovereignty, and pertaining to the same period, is to be found in a report by Captain Campbell, the then British Resident in the Persian Gulf, dated 1st July 1854. In that report Captain Campbell unconditionally and without reservation stated that the Buraimi area was an integral part of the Sa'udi Kingdom and admitted Sa'udi sovereignty over this area.

The allegiance of the inhabitants was never in question, and they continued at all times to pay Sa'udi taxes. The late King 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Sa'ud sent one named Sa'id Ibn Faisal for the collection of the *Zakat* tax, as has been the uninterrupted custom ever since 1795.

As late as 1927 neither Britain nor the "protected" rulers on whose behalf she claims to act disputed Sa'udi sovereignty over the area. Mr. Bertram Thomas, the British resident Minister and Director of Finance in Muscat, admitted in his book, *Alarms and Excursions in Arabia*, that Buraimi was Sa'udi country.

British claim to the area, which was first voiced late in 1949, was prompted by the belief that the area was rich in oil deposits, and the desire to strengthen the areas under its protection, Muscat and Abu Dhabi, for strategical purposes. The British Government took exceptional objection when in 1952 the Sa'udi Government, in accordance with old-established procedure, sent Turki Ibn Ottaishan as its representative in that area.

The Sa'udi Government, being desirous of maintaining their traditional friendship with the United Kingdom, offered to refer the dispute to diplomatic mediation, an offer which the United Kingdom rejected. The Sa'udi Government attempted then to settle the dispute quietly by direct diplomatic negotiations with the United Kingdom, but their attempt met with the same fate. Nevertheless, Sa'udi Arabia offered on 23rd October 1952 to submit the issue of sovereignty and allegiance to a plebiscite to be held under neutral supervision. The British Government on their part replied on 5th January 1953 suggesting to submit the issue to arbitration. A suggestion, unfair as it was, which the Sa'udi Government, moved by their desire to maintain peace and security in the area and their traditional friendship with the United Kingdom and their desire to adhere to the principles of the United Nations Charter, accepted. And accordingly an arbitration agreement was concluded between the two parties on 30th July 1954.

The arbitration tribunal held its first meeting on 22nd January 1955 at Nice, and after an adjournment resumed its meetings at Geneva in September 1955.

After the hearings of both cases were concluded — significantly not earlier — the British member, Sir Reader Bullard, saw it fit to resign his membership, thus wrecking the work of the tribunal. Sir Reader used all sorts of pretexts to justify his actions, which we need not even mention here, but the subsequent actions of the British Government — i.e., their

occupation of the area by force of arms — amply explain the reasons for this resignation, and indicate where the responsibility for the breakdown in arbitration lies.

The attacks in the British Press and elsewhere on Sa'udi Arabia which followed were an unworthy attempt to damage the reputation of Sa'udi Arabia and to camouflage the British Government's design over the area.

Thus on 27th October 1955 the British Chargé d'Affaires at Jeddah handed a note to the Sa'udi Arabian Foreign Minister stating that British forces "acting on behalf of Abu Dhabi and Muscat" had occupied Buraimi and the area to the west of the oasis and arrested the fifteen Sa'udi policemen stationed there in accordance with the arbitration agreement.

The Sa'udi Arabian Government wish to make known their position and the stand they take, which has been communicated to the British Government in a Note dated 27th October 1955:

(1) The Sa'udi Government does not accept the allegation that a dispute exists between them and the Sultan of Muscat or the ruler of Abu Dhabi. The dispute is purely and simply with the British Government, who imposed their will on the above-mentioned rulers.

(2) The Sa'udi Government emphatically reject the British accusation of being responsible for the breakdown of arbitration. The facts indicate otherwise, and the Sa'udi Government holds the United Kingdom responsible for the breakdown of the peaceful machinery for the solution of disputes and for violating the United Nations Charter and the arbitration agreement.

(3) The unworthy allegation of corruption and bribery is equally rejected and is definitely unfounded.

(4) The Sa'udi Arabian Government strongly protests against the unjustified and unprovoked aggression on its territory and considers the occupation of its territory as an hostile act, endangering peace, and contrary to British obligations under the United Nations Charter.

(5) In spite of all this, the Sa'udi Government declares that they have been at all times, and continue to be ready and willing to resort to peaceful means, and in a friendly spirit, for the solution of this dispute.

(6) The Sa'udi Government does not acknowledge the validity of the unilateral decisions of the United Kingdom regarding Sa'udi boundaries with Abu Dhabi. Such unilateral action contravenes international law, is contrary to the United Nations Charter, and amounts to a repudiation of the arbitration agreement.

(7) The Sa'udi Government requests the British Government to withdraw their occupation forces, paving the way for a peaceful and friendly settlement. At the same time they declare that they do not and will not recognize any unilateral action in the area, and preserve their full rights there in respect of their sovereignty and responsibility to preserve their territorial integrity and afford protection to their citizens.

Another Note dated 9th November 1955 was addressed to the United Kingdom repeating the offer to resume arbitration. The Sa'udi Arabian Embassy regrets to describe the British Government's reply, published in the Press on 25th November 1955, as a refusal to accept peaceful settlement, and an attempt to force Sa'udi Arabia to accept a *fait accompli* and a resort to the principle of "might is right".

THE CYPRUS QUESTION AT THE UNITED NATIONS

The application made by Greece to have the "Cyprus question" reinscribed in the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly's current session was turned down, for the second time in three days, when the General Assembly itself voted 28 to 22 (with ten abstentions) on 23rd September 1955 to uphold the original decision of its General Committee. It will be recalled that the United Nations had decided once before, in December 1954, not to consider the matter further.

Some of Turkey's valid reasons for requesting that the General Assembly, too, should reject the Greek demand were summed up once again by Ambassador Selim Sarper, the Turkish Permanent Representative to the United Nations, who said, in part:

"The Greek claim is aimed at the transfer of sovereignty over the island of Cyprus from the United Kingdom to

Greece. The boundaries between Turkey and Greece and the United Kingdom (which the Greek claim would have revised) were freely negotiated and settled by mutual consent in the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. . . . Respect for international treaties is one of the basic principles embodied in the Preamble of the United Nations Charter. . . ."

Pointing out that the principle of self-determination was being used as a cloak to camouflage a desire to annex Cyprus to Greece, Ambassador Sarper reminded the General Assembly that this noble principle has never been recognized as the sole determining factor in the delineation of international boundaries. He cited the example of Western Thrace, a province which had belonged to Turkey for several centuries and had a predominately Turkish population; but during the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey's demand for the application of the principle of self-determination and for an

internationally-controlled plebiscite there were denied by Greece itself, which objected that this principle could not be applied to questions settled by international treaties. . . .

Refuting allegations to the effect that Greece was entitled to bring up the "Cyprus question" once again despite last year's decision by the United Nations not to discuss the matter further, Ambassador Sarper said: "The only elements of change which have been suggested to the consideration of the Assembly consist solely of changes in the Greek attitude itself. There are no changes in the positions of the United Kingdom or of Turkey in regard to the essence of the question; the treaty obligations which bind all the parties concerned are still the same; the Eastern Mediterranean region is still equally in need of stability, tranquillity and security; all the major elements which prompted the Assembly not to consider this matter nine months ago continue to exist today, except for those which are dependent on the attitude of Greece itself; and these changes in the Greek attitude can be characterized as a hardening of the Greek position and their use of certain methods, on the details of which I do not propose to dwell at this stage. . . ."

"One of the basic purposes of this Organization as embodied in the Preamble to the Charter," Mr. Sarper said, "is to foster friendly relations among nations. The Assembly is well aware of its responsibility to avoid any course of action which, far from making any positive contribution, may only add discord and bitterness to this situation which, unfortunately, was not improved by the discussions at last year's session.

"It has taken several decades and the efforts of many great statesmen to build up friendly ties among the parties concerned in this matter. Turkey, for its part, attaches great value to the continuation of these ties of friendship. This fact was stressed very recently by the Prime Minister of

Turkey in a speech delivered to the Grand National Assembly on 12th September 1955. In the course of his speech, Mr. Adnan Menderes pointed out that Turkey had always considered, and acted in recognition of the fact, that an alliance between Turkey and Greece was a guarantee of their mutual existence, and declared that today, too, Turkey's view in this respect remained unchanged. . . .

"My delegation is therefore confident," Ambassador Sarper concluded, "that, having in view the high principles of equity and justice, bearing in mind the letter and spirit of the provisions of the Charter, conscious of its duty not to imperil peace and tranquillity in the region involved, fully aware of the true interests of the United Nations as well as of all the parties concerned, the General Assembly will pronounce itself against the inclusion of this item in the agenda."

British Minister of State Anthony Nutting also addressed the General Assembly to stress, among other points, the fact that "what we are confronted with here is not a Colonial issue. This is a straight, if disguised, bid for 'Enosis', that is, for the union of Cyprus with Greece".

He submitted that, because the real aim of Greece was not the development of constitutional self-government on Cyprus but the acquisition of the island itself, the Assembly must not admit that member-States could use the United Nations to promote claims on a neighbour's territory, or to set aside treaties to which they were parties.

Pledging that his Government would endeavour unremittingly to work out a solution to this delicate issue, Mr. Nutting suggested that quiet diplomacy conducted in private was better calculated to find such a solution than an acrimonious discussion in a public forum.

"I appeal to this Assembly to uphold the judgment and recommendation of its General Committee. I trust that I shall not appeal in vain," Mr. Nutting concluded.

ISLAM IN ENGLAND

THE WOKING MUSLIM MISSION AND LITERARY TRUST

Lectures

On 29th October 1955 Mr. Iqbal Ahmad, B.A., went to Loughborough to address a meeting held under the auspices of the Loughborough Muslim Association to commemorate the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad. Mr. Ahmad explained the changes in the lives of the Arabs brought about by the Prophet Muhammad and how today the leading thinkers of the West were realizing that the world today needed to take lessons in international co-operation, and for them to seek the help of Islam.

Mr. 'Abd al-Majid, M.A., Editor of *The Islamic Review*, addressed a gathering at All Souls' Unitarian Church, Hoop Lane, Golders Green, London, N.W.11, on "A Muslim Faces a World of Crisis and Change" on Thursday 13th October 1955. The lecture was one of a series organized by the All Souls' Unitarian Church on the attitude of various religions to the problems of today and how they tackled these problems. The speaker, in dealing with the subject, outlined in some detail the effect the recent developments in thought and culture and the effects of such changes as the two world wars, the increased political influence of the Middle Eastern powers, the emergence of Pakistan and Indonesia, and the

growing influence of science, had on Muslims themselves. He followed it up by illustrating how Islam faced these problems.

On 14th November 1955 Mr. Iqbal Ahmad went to address the International Fellowship of the Methodist Church, Hinde Street, London, on Islam generally. The gathering, which consisted of young people, requested the speaker to answer their numerous questions, which lasted until 10 o'clock in the evening. On 19th November he travelled to Reading to give a talk to some students of a secondary school. The boys were very anxious to know about Islam, about which they had already read whatever was available to them in their school library. This naturally helped the speaker considerably. He found that the interest taken on the subject by his audience could not be satisfied by a short talk of the academical hour. He spoke for an hour and a half. The boys were anxious to know the meaning of the abbreviated words found in the beginning of many chapters of the Qur'an; also, if a Muslim was required to believe in all the prophets, then what was he to do in case the teachings of one prophet were against the teachings of another.



The Muslim Society in Great Britain celebrated the Birthday of the Prophet Muhammad on 4th November 1955.

Our picture shows Begum Ikramullah (standing), wife of the High Commissioner for Pakistan in the United Kingdom, with Dr. Jung, a Pakistani Muslim, to her right, and the Chairman of the Meeting, Enche Othman Bin Muhammad, the Commissioner for Malaya, to her left. On the extreme left of the picture is Major Farooq Farmer, the Chairman of the Muslim Society in Great Britain, London.

Mr. 'Abd al-Majid, M.A., Editor of *The Islamic Review*, addressed the World Fellowship of St. Luke's Church, Wimbledon Park, London, S.W.19, on Tuesday 15th November 1955 on "The Muslim Faith". The speaker in his speech told his audience that as the knowledge of Europe about Islam was growing fast as a result of the rapid means of communications, perhaps the best plan to get a more comprehensive and lasting picture of the religious beliefs of a Muslim was to know where and why Islam differed from the Christian tenets of faith. He, however, remarked that this approach did not preclude the emphasis which should be laid on the close similarity between the fundamentals of Islam and those of the original teachings of Jesus.

On 19th November 1955, Mr. A. D. Azhar, Financial Adviser to the High Commissioner for Pakistan in London, gave a talk on the "Economic Development in Pakistan" at

18 Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1. The speaker is a very able person and spoke on the subject very well. After the talk he allowed the audience to ask him questions on any subject it liked. This made the meeting interesting, informal and very lively.

Mr. 'Abd al-Majid, M.A., Editor of *The Islamic Review*, took part on a "Great Religions" Brains Trust organized by the Rosslyn Hill Chapel, Hampstead, London, N.W.3, on Friday 18th November 1955. Mr. Majid put before the audience the standpoint of Islam on such problems as peace, war, the status of women in Islam, polygamy, kindness to animals, the possibility of the artificial production of babies in incubators, the desirability of a world religion, the avoidance of religious intolerance, the good life without a God, a common definition of religion, the after-life, and, is religion necessary?

THE MUSLIM SOCIETY IN GREAT BRITAIN

The Prophet Muhammad's Birthday Celebration

On 4th November 1955 the Muslim Society in Great Britain celebrated the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad at the Caxton Hall, London, S.W.1. About 200 people attended this meeting among them being the Ambassadors of Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Pakistan. The meeting was opened with a recitation from the Holy Qur'an by Mr. Hazim Satric, a Yugoslavian Muslim. The English translation of the Arabic verses was given by Major Faruk Farmer, Chairman of the Society. The meeting was presided over by Enche Othman Bin Mohamed, M.C.S., P.J.K., the Commissioner for Malaya in the United Kingdom. The speakers were Her Excellency Begum S. Ikramullah, wife of the Pakistan High Commissioner, and Dr. M. Jung. Both of them spoke on the various aspects of the life of the Prophet Muhammad.

Dr. Jung, in speaking on "The Global Message of the Prophet Muhammad", explained how the concepts of the democracy and tolerance were advocated by Islam and

exemplified in the life of the Prophet Muhammad. He, in passing, referred to the annual Congress of the British Conservative Party, held a few days before, where it was stated that the basis of preserving peace should be co-ordination and profit sharing among the various nations of the world. He explained at length how the Prophet Muhammad taught this to the world 1,300 years ago.

Begum S. Ikramullah, in her eloquent manner, spoke on the kindness and forgiving characteristics of the Prophet Muhammad. She read a few Urdu verses of a Pakistani poet, Hafeez Jallandhari, from his collection of poems, *The Shahnameh*. This was very much appreciated by the Pakistani members of the audience.

The President, Enche Othman Bin Mohamed, concluded the meeting by saying: "This meeting, like the quality of mercy, is twice blessed. It blesses the Society for holding this meeting, and the speeches, an additional and special blessing for which we are greatly honoured and thankful. I pray that the work of the Society will go on always."



Lt.-Colonel S. Hashimi, Minister-in-Waiting to the Amir of Bahawalpur, Pakistan, is addressing a meeting at 18 Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1, on the "Services of Bahawalpur to Pakistan". The occasion was a Reception in his honour given by Major N. A. Shah and Mr. Leghari. Colonel Hashimi recounted in his speech the services of the Ruler of Bahawalpur who, he said, was the first ruling Prince in Pakistan to cede his prerogatives for the unification of the Western wing of Pakistan into one unit. Colonel Hashimi exhorted his audience, especially the young Pakistanis, to do their bit to further the cause of Pakistan and Islam. The meeting was held on 22nd October 1955, with Sir Harold Shubert in the chair, sitting to the right of the speaker.

BOOK REVIEW

THE SHAIKH AND HIS SUFISM, by Abdul Ali. Hyderabad-Deccan, India. 89 pages. Price not given.

This is a brief sketch of the life of the Shaikh 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani, a name venerated in the greater part of the Islamic world as the saint *par excellence*. The veneration is so great that the late Professor Margoliouth found occasion to observe that "with some Muslim communities" the Shaikh's name has "displaced that of their Prophet". The author's aim is to restore the perspective, and bring into proper relief the essential role of the Shaikh as a great reformer in Islam.

In pursuance of this aim, the author has given a bird's-eye view of the condition of Muslim life prevailing in the fifth century of Islam when the Abbaside Caliphate had begun its downward march to disappearance. The governing classes supported by subsidised religious agents — the *Mullahs* and the *Sufis* of the day, who trafficked in religion, had created a state of affairs which was marked by confusion everywhere. Ignorance stalked in the land with its attendant poverty and misery among the masses. In the author's view, Islam had fled the Islamic Empire, and it was given to the Shaikh to rediscover it and bring it back to dwell in the midst of men again.

The author has no good word to say of the esoteric side

of mysticism associated with the Shaikh's name, and makes little of the enormous mass of literature which the Shaikh's followers have accumulated round his name to extol him as a miracle-maker. In the eyes of the author, the life of the Shaikh was itself one long miracle — a life of strenuous exertion against the evil that prospered round him in his day.

It is from this angle that the author has tried to present the Shaikh to the modern world. In rapid strokes, the author raises before us the picture of a man who tried to live always in the presence of God, fighting with all his intellectual, moral and spiritual qualities the influence of reactionary elements, both temporal and religious, who vitiated the life of the times.

The pattern of life that he strove to establish around him was to rest on hard work, equitable emphasis on the good of one's own self and the good of others, fidelity to truth and faith in God. That he attained success in his effort and arrested the process of decadence in Islam is now a matter of history.

The book, apart from its theme, is an illuminating essay on righteous living in Islam and may confidently be commended to the attention of every Muslim, regardless of his or her sectional affiliation. The subject is presented in a form and style easily intelligible to the average reader.

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